

# THE BLACK PANTHER

## INTERCOMMUNAL NEWS SERVICE

PUBLISHED WEEKLY BY THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY

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## Larry Little On "Squeaky's" Death List

# NO. CAROLINA B.P.P. HEAD THREATENED BY K.K.K.

(Winston, Salem, N.C.) - Larry Little, coordinator of the Black Panther Party Chapter here and national spokesperson of the JoAnne Little Defense Committee, told THE BLACK PANTHER that he has been informed that his name was included on a list of individuals slated for assassination found in the apartment of Lynette A. (Squeaky) Fromme, in Sacramento, California, and that he had received threats on his life by Ku Klux Klan officials and others in North Carolina.

Fromme is the woman charged with an attempt on the life of Gerald Ford on September 5 in Sacramento. Sandra Good, Fromme's roommate, told the press following Fromme's arrest that an "International People's Court of Retribution" has marked for assassination "scores of business executives" whose firms damage the environment.

Information that Larry Little's name was on the list came from the FBI office here as did the information that one Carl Parker, a local Dragon of the Ku Klux Klan, had threatened to kill Larry. This was confirmed by Joe Grady, Grand Dragon of the KKK in North Carolina, who telephoned the Black Panther Party headquarters here on May 24, to inform the Party that Parker is responsible for the threat.

Again, on September 23 and on October 4, local FBI agents Eller and Zackary T. Lowe respectively called the Party office to inform it that Carl Parker had threatened the life of Larry Little.

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BPINS photo

The racist Ku Klux Klan (left) is pictured at a North Carolina rally on September 14 called against the Black Panther Party. LARRY LITTLE, coordinator of the Winston-Salem Chapter of the Black Panther Party and official spokesperson for the JoAnne Little Defense Committee, has received death threats from the KKK and has been informed he was on a "death list" found in "Squeaky" Fromme's apartment.



## Editorial

### B.P.P.'s 9th Anniversary

Despite a massive, nationwide and continuing effort by federal, state and local "law enforcement" agencies and the controlled media to destroy the Black Panther Party, on October 16 the Party celebrated its ninth year of continuous service to the people.

The Black Panther Party has been through many changes in these nine years. But this is the nature of all things. Many organizations that came into being in the heat of the late sixties, at the same time as the Party, resisted change and consequently made growth and development impossible. Without growth and development, decay and deterioration set in. Death follows.

Many throughout the country believe the Black Panther Party is also dead. Since they do not read or hear about the brandishing of guns, armed confrontations with the police, black leather jackets and cocky berets and the public use of foul language, they assume the Black Panther Party has ceased to exist.

They forget (or perhaps never knew) that it was forces outside the Party, namely, the John Mitchell/Richard Nixon police and the media, together with forces inside the Party, namely, planted agents and misleaders, that diverted the Black Panther Party from its original vision of serving the community and consciousness raising in the community toward the accomplishment of People's Power.

The past three years of careful, in-depth analysis and self criticism, together with hard, day to day, grass roots work of returning the Party to the practice of the original vision of its founder and chief theoretician, Huey P. Newton, has not been headline grabbing copy for the media. As a result, the country knows little about our successes in building our Survival Programs, building community-based political and issue-oriented coalitions, building relationships with our comrades-in-struggle in our inter-communal world — particularly Africa — and consolidating and strengthening our Party.

Yes, the day will come when the Black Panther Party in its present form will cease to exist. But it will be at our decision and not before Black Americans walk this earth in true freedom. We expect to celebrate many more anniversaries in the forefront of the struggle for ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE.

9th Anniversary Of The Founding  
Of The Black Panther Party  
October 15, 1966  October 15, 1975



*All Power To The People*

### FALLEN COMRADE


#### WELTON ARMSTEAD

#### Assassinated

October 15, 1968



Welton Armstead, like "Lil' Bobby Hutton, was only 17 years old when he was gunned down on October 15, 1968, by Seattle police. Welton was shot down in the back yard of a friend as he tried to escape a police manhunt, although there was no warrant or cause to arrest him. When Welton saw police converging on his house, he ran to the house of a friend. When they came there too, he borrowed his friend's rifle and attempted to evade the officers through the backyard. However, the net was too tight and Comrade Welton was cut down as he defended himself with the rifle. Welton Armstead's death was caused by the fact that he was a dedicated and well known member of the Black Panther Party. Welton Armstead was a supreme servant of the people who made the supreme sacrifice.

 ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE! 

### COMMENT

#### C.I.A., F.B.I. Plot To Kill "Enemy" Agents

By Jack Anderson

Veteran syndicated columnist Jack Anderson has become well known for his exposes on Watergate and other corrupt activities within the federal government. In the following comment, Anderson reveals recent secret testimony before the Senate Intelligence Committee that the CIA and the FBI have conspired to murder "enemy" agents in the U.S.

There has been secret, sworn testimony that the CIA and FBI have plotted occasionally to murder enemy agents in this country.

We have been unable to document a single murder case. But at least two witnesses have testified that they were asked by CIA or FBI to commit murder.

The Senate Intelligence Committee has also obtained vouchers, which prove exotic assassination weapons have been sold to U.S. agencies.

CIA employees have acknowledged to us that assassination plots have been discussed in their presence. The plotters were squeamish, said one source, about using the words "assassination" and "murder." They spoke more delicately about "eliminating" or "getting rid" of a troublesome Communist agent. But there was no question, insisted the source, that they were talking about murder.

Another source stressed that a Soviet spy or double agent might be marked for murder only if he were considered "a tremendous threat" to U.S. interests. Then the CIA wouldn't use one of its own agents but would recruit an outsider "to do the job," the source said.

Normally, the CIA would try, he said, to maneuver the victim out of the country before arranging his disappearance. But one CIA source, with only second-hand knowledge of the case, told of a spy who was thrown off a New York City bridge. A co-operative police lieutenant allegedly submitted a suicide re-

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### THE BLACK PANTHER

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## Chicago Police Directed Legion Of Justice Attacks On Left

(Chicago, Ill.) - Evidence is surfacing of the creation and use of fascist gangs by big city police departments and the U.S. military to violently attack progressives and the property of progressive organizations, commit burglaries and provoke confrontations between such organizations and the police.

At a court hearing in Chicago on July 22, 28 and 29, 1975, the ultrarightist Legion of Justice was so exposed. Despite declarations to the contrary by former State's Attorney Edward Hanrahan, former Chicago police department head Francis Sullivan and Maj. Philip Fogle, U.S. Army information officer at the Pentagon, one Thomas Stewart of the Legion of Justice testified to specific police and military direction, payment and guarantees against prosecution to himself and others for robberies, raids, provocative acts and infiltrations against the Black Panther Party, the Young Socialist Alliance, the Socialist Workers Party, progressive bookstores and a Catholic church, during 1969 and 1970.

Below we begin the reprint of excerpts from the sworn testimony of Thomas Stewart. The excerpts appeared originally in the newspaper, The Militant.

### PART I

**QUESTION:** Will you describe the circumstances under which you met S. Thomas Sutton?

**ANSWER:** Yes, sir. In the early part of 1969 I saw a newspaper article that described a confrontation at the University of Illinois Circle campus. A girl was beaten out there for showing a film. I made a contact to her and she introduced me to Mr. Sutton.

**Q:** And what, if anything, did Mr. Sutton represent himself or the Legion of Justice to be?

**A:** He represented it as an intelligence-gathering organization that worked for a number of government agencies and with the Subversive Intelligence Unit.

**Q:** What was his part in that organization?

**A:** He was the leader of the organization.

**Q:** What did he tell you his functions were?

**A:** His functions were primarily intelligence gathering. Gathering

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# DALEY, F.B.I., COPS SUED BY RIGHTS GROUPS FOR SPYING

## Progressive Chicagoans Seek Damages For 9-Year Surveillance

(Chicago, Ill.) — The American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU), Operation PUSH, Illinois Black Congressman Ralph Metcalfe, and a number of other progressive organizations and individuals — totaling 28 — filed a lawsuit in federal court here on October 3 to bring a halt to illegal spying carried out by Chicago Mayor Richard Daley, the Chicago Police Department, FBI Director Clarence Kelley and other city and federal agencies and officials.

The suit, entitled "ACLU v. City of Chicago," charges that from at least January 1, 1966, to the present all of the defendants named engaged in infiltration, illegal wiretapping, breaking and entering, disruption of legal activities of the organizations and individuals, and the accumulation and dissemination of vast files, dossiers and reports on all of the plaintiffs.

The suit seeks to prevent future unlawful government intrusion and to recover damages suffered by the plaintiffs as a result of the illegal spying.

Plaintiff organizations in the federal lawsuit include, in addition to the ACLU and Operation PUSH; the Organization for a Better Austin; the American Friends Service Committee; the Community Renewal Society; the Independent Voters of Illinois; the League to Improve the Community; the Medical Com-

mittee for Human Rights; the Better Government Association; and the Roger Baldwin Foundation of ACLU, Inc.

Individual plaintiffs include, in addition to Congressman Metcalfe: Rev. Jesse Jackson, president of Operation PUSH; Black attorney Kermit Coleman; Black alderman William Cousins, Jr.;



Chicago Mayor RICHARD DALEY has been named in a federal lawsuit charging Chicago and federal police with illegal spying.

## FALLEN COMRADE

### WALTER POPE

### Assassinated

October 18, 1969



As soon as Walter "Toure" Pope was released from the California Youth Authority, Tracy Penitentiary, he joined the Black Panther Party. Comrade Toure, only 20, was singled out for special and constant harassment by the Los Angeles police because of his effectiveness as distribution manager of THE BLACK PANTHER in Southern California. In three months, Toure increased our newspaper's circulation in Southern California from 1,500 a week to over 7,000 a week. A victim of three false arrests for suspicion of robbery, and two false arrests for attempted murder, Toure's life became increasingly in danger. On October 18, 1969, Walter "Toure" Pope was brutally gunned down by the Los Angeles Metro Squad as he left a store while delivering newspapers. According to eyewitnesses, police came upon him and opened fire. "Toure" never had a chance. The spirit of Walter "Toure" Pope will live on forever!

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE!

Black newspaper editor Augustus Savage; alderman Dick Simpson; attorney Ronald J. Clark; and journalists Don Rose and Ron Dorfman.

Principal defendants in the lawsuit — in addition to Mayor Daley, the Chicago Police Department and FBI Director Kelley — include Secretary of Defense James Schlesinger; Attorney General Edward H. Levi; Chicago Police Superintendent James Rochford; Black Deputy Police Superintendent Mitchell Ware; and members of the Chicago Police Board. Each of the defendants is being sued both as an official and as an individual.

Congressman Metcalfe and Rev. Jackson, the ACLU suit charges, were victims of the FBI's COINTELPRO (Counter-intelligence Program) operation, which illegally used electronic surveillance and informers to gather data on the two Black Chicago leaders. COINTELPRO, the subject of a Congressional investigation, was described by late FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover as an operation "to expose, disrupt, misdirect, discredit or otherwise neutralize" the activ-

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Instructor GWEN JOHNSON teaches a Spanish class for Group 8 at the Oakland Community School.

## OAKLAND COMMUNITY SCHOOL: EDUCATION PUT INTO ACTION

(Oakland, Calif.) - Children growing up in a highly technological society like that of the U.S. need an education that will give them the basic skills to survive in that society. East Oakland's model elementary level school, the Oakland Community School—now in its fifth year—continues to distinguish itself by providing its students with a quality educational curriculum that they can apply to real life situations.

The Oakland Community School (formerly the Intercommunal Youth Institute) is located in the predominantly Black and Chicano community of East Oakland, and the curriculum is therefore designed to meet the particular social and cultural needs of these children.

The tuition-free School's 120 students—ages two and one-half to 11—daily put what they learn into action, a characteristic that is greatly lacking in this country's public schools. The Social Science curriculum provides numerous examples of how the children use what they learn as this academic area involves the examination of relationships and problems among people. Among the areas of study in Social Science are American history, current events, Black history, world studies and geography.

### ACTIVITIES

Two student activities of the Oakland Community School are directly related to the Social Science curriculum, the Youth Committee and the Youth Store. The Youth Committee, composed of three representatives from Groups 2 through 8, has direct input into decisions concerning the academics and activities of the School as well as provides the students with a forum in which they can air their grievances and discuss any problems they may have. The Youth Committee sets policies on how the students

should treat each other, thus concretely dealing with human relationships.

The children's discussion of current events helps them to produce a bi-monthly newsletter with news about events at the School as well as some of the children's own original art and poetry.

The Youth Store was instituted by the children as a means of raising money to take care of their needs. The items sold at the store are donated by the community, and in order for the store to function, the children must organize methods whereby they can secure the items from the community. In addition, the Youth Store utilizes the Math curriculum because the children learn how to use and count money. In a

society where it is commonplace to go into a store and be cheated out of one's money, the ability to count is a vital necessity.

The children gain firsthand knowledge of the problems and issues they discuss in Social Science and other classes through the field trips they take. For example, they regularly attend the San Quentin 6 trial which gives them direct exposure to the inadequacies of the American judicial system for Black and other minority people.

The School is sponsoring a Fall Festival on October 26, a fund-raising event which will include a carnival with fun-filled booths and entertaining skits by the children. The children have actively participated in the planning

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## Community School Parents Sponsor Successful Bake Sale

(Oakland, Calif.) - Parents from the model Oakland Community School set a good example for their children and the community last weekend, sponsoring a successful two-day Bake Sale of delicious home cooked foods. The event was planned by the parents to raise funds for the innovative Community School, and to spread the good news of the recent opening of its fifth year. Above, a scene at Gemco's in San Leandro last Sunday. On Saturday, the parents gathered at Lucky's in East Oakland, quickly selling mounds of cakes, pastries, fudge and cookies.

BPINS photo

## THIS WEEK IN BLACK HISTORY

### OCTOBER 17, 1787

As an indication of how deep-seated racism is in the United States, we need only study history to realize that the same things Black people were fighting for 200 years ago are still being struggled for today. A case in point occurred on October 17, 1787, when a group of angry Boston Blacks, led by a man named Prince Hall, petitioned the state legislature for equal school facilities.

### OCTOBER 16-17, 1859

On October 16-17, 1859, John Brown led five Black men and 13 Whites on an historic assault on Harper's Ferry, Virginia, in an attempt to initiate a slave rebellion which would sweep throughout the South. The attack was unsuccessful as two Blacks were killed, two were captured and one escaped. All of the survivors of the raid were hanged. John Brown, a White man, was a courageous leader of the antislavery convention in Canada in 1848. John Brown will live forever in the minds of Black people as a White man that truly hated slavery and did everything in his power to stop it, even at the cost of his own life.

### OCTOBER 17, 1871

On October 17, 1871, President Ulysses Grant issued a proclamation against a wave of Ku Klux Klan terror against Black people in South Carolina and suspended the right of habeas corpus—the right to due process of law—in nine counties. He also issued a second proclamation commanding the "Rifle Clubs" of South Carolina to disband.

### OCTOBER 16, 1901

On October 16, 1901, Booker T. Washington, as an officially recognized "leader" of Black America, dined at the White House with President Roosevelt. Washington received stinging criticism from Southern Blacks.



## DAVID DuBOIS PANELIST

## California High School Journalists Confer On Student Media Rights

(San Francisco, Calif.) - Some 200 high school newspaper staff members, journalism students and faculty advisers joined more than 40 professional media workers from the Bay Area, including the Editor-in-Chief of THE BLACK PANTHER *Intercommunal News Service*, David G. Du Bois, here last Saturday in an all day Northern California Media Association for Student Rights Conference.

The Conference was held at San Francisco State University and centered around four workshops on: Investigative Reporting; Campus and Community; Legal Issues - Finance - Board of Education; and TV, Radio and Video.

Earl Caldwell, long time correspondent with *The New York Times* and other leading dailies, was the keynote speaker. He set a high tone for the day with a penetrating examination of the press today in failing to maintain its independence from control, especially the control of publishers, using the example of his own legal battle over the right to withhold sources from investigative arms of the government.



EARL CALDWELL

As correspondent for *The New York Times*, in 1971, Earl Caldwell covered the Black Panther Party in Oakland, providing penetrating reportage, analyses and interpretations of Party work, and the harassment and intimidation of the Party by police and other agencies. Later, law enforcement agencies tried unsuccessfully to force Brother Caldwell to provide them with information he, as a reporter, had obtained and the sources of that information as part of the Justice Department's

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# FORD LEADS ATTACK ON FOOD STAMP PROGRAM

## Buckley-Michel Bill Would Cut Off 10 Million Households

(Washington, D.C.) - A massive assault to further restrict food stamp eligibility, led by President Gerald Ford, is underway here. Both the Buckley-Michel bill and a Ford proposal would severely cutback food stamp availability, thus increasing hardships for more millions of Americans hard hit by unemployment, underemployment and inflation.

The bill introduced by Senator James Buckley and Representative Robert Michel has recently received the endorsement of former U.S. Welfare Commissioner Robert B. Carlson. This bill would eliminate 10 million people from the food stamp program.

Ford has delayed revealing the contents of his bill, but claims it would save \$1 billion annually, "provide benefits to those who need them and remove benefits from those who don't." He said he plans to submit the plan when Congress returns October 20 from a week-long Columbus Day recess.

The Buckley-Michel bill would eliminate all households, with a



The federal government's attack on the food stamp program is again a direct attack on Black, poor, unemployed and low-income families.

gross income above the official poverty line which now stands at \$5,050 for a family of four. It would eliminate virtually all food stamp deductions and would require most households to pay 30% of their gross income to purchase food stamps.

The Buckley-Michel bill would also eliminate all households

containing a college student, striker, or person who has left a job "without good cause."

Perhaps the biggest way the bill would cut households out of the program is through restriction on the food stamp assets test. The bill places the limit on allowable assets at \$2,500 for households of two or more persons, requiring that many items now excluded from the assets tests be counted. Items such as cars worth over \$1,200, personal effects over \$1,500 and a house over \$25,000 will be counted as assets. At present, these items are excluded, regardless of value.

The federal government is attempting to rally support for this attack by again making low and middle income families scapegoats. There have been articles allegedly "exposing" families making \$20,000 a year on food stamps along with advertisements and articles in major publications plagiarizing and distorting booklets on food stamp regulations.

And as usual, there is widespread governmental talk of the "bourgeoning" cost of food stamps, while Senator George McGovern points to the latest figures which show the number of food stamp recipients declining and U.S. Department of Agriculture's (USDA) own projection to the year 1980, showing the cost and number of people and the cost being lower than it is today.

From April to June of this year alone there was a decline of 200,000 participants, so it is clear that these governmental criticisms of food stamps have no basis. □

## SUPPORT THE SCOTT-SMITH COMMITTEE

Betty Scott was killed on September 20, 1975, by a California Highway patrolman. George Smith, her companion, has been charged with three felonies and two misdemeanors in an attempt to cover-up the senseless murder of Betty.

Financial contributions are needed to offset costs for the suit which Betty's family will file against the California Highway Patrol and for George Smith's defense.



Please make checks or money orders payable to:  
The Scott-Smith Committee  
P.O. Box 4373  
Long Beach, California  
90804  
For further information, call: (213) 591-4305



# MARIE HILL CHILD DEVELOPMENT CENTER CELEBRATES 2nd ANNIVERSARY

(Sunnyvale, Calif.) — The fourth anniversary of the Marie Hill Childcare Development Center was celebrated here on September 20 at a community barbeque held for the occasion.

The Marie Hill Center is sponsored by the Intercommunal Survival Committee, which is

program's Board of Directors, for the loyalty and responsibility they have shown in their work.

The highlight of the celebration was, as usual, the youth themselves. The children of the Center, aged 2 and one-half to 6 years old, acted out a skit portraying four years of struggle

against bureaucrats who lacked faith in the community and their survival program. The audience roared with laughter and approval as the children really put on a "performance."

At the end of the skit the audience joined in the children's song, "If you love to serve the people, say I DO!", as their voices reverberated off the gleaming walls of the newly constructed classroom.

The Marie Hill Childcare Center marked four years of struggle against many odds to build a model, free childcare development program. □



Children of the Marie Hill Child Development Center perform second anniversary celebration.

headed by Ms. Miriam Cherry who eight months ago lost her job as associate Catholic chaplain at Stanford University because of her support of the Black Panther Party and dedicated work in the mid-Peninsula's oppressed community.

Ms. Cherry was honored as a people's minister at this anniversary celebration with a handsome certificate which read: "The youth are our future of freedom songs made real. In celebration of the Fourth Anniversary of this community survival program that you have helped build and are a part of, we honor and applaud you because you love and serve the people body and soul."

## PROUD PEOPLE

Ninety proud and enthusiastic people gathered for this event, which was honored by the presence of four families who first enrolled their children at the Center in 1971. Two of the original parents, Lottie Arnold and Jan Andreason, cut the Center's fourth birthday cake to spirited applause.

Special honors went to Lee Jackson, Dick Kortum, and Barbara Lilley, coordinators of the ISC Plumbing and Home Repairs Program, who provided technical guidance and knowledge to parents and friends of the children and who relied on their own efforts to construct a new classroom at the Center.

Also, survival workers Ann Tennant, Jo Jackson, and Claudia Knapp were honored, along with six parents who serve on the

## CONTINUED FROM PAGE 4

of the Festival and have created some skits that are perceptive comments on current social problems and issues that they have been discussing.

Among the skits are a take-off on astrology and how people overly depend on it to solve their everyday problems; busing and the problem of quality education in the Black community; and the "Buy"-Centennial, a drama on how the 200th anniversary of the nation is being used to get people to spend money on things they don't need.

The Language Arts curriculum—designed to develop such skills as reading, vocabulary, grammar and writing—touches all subjects at the School. The children are encouraged to write about their daily experiences in all of their classes, thus consistently strengthening their Language Arts skills and helping them to understand the importance of these skills in relationship to their ability to function in life.

The Oakland Community School uses a basic reading system that provides guidelines in determining the reading skills the children should develop before moving on to higher levels. However, the School's students and staff have developed their own textbooks out of the need to make the children's reading materials relevant to their backgrounds and interests. The chil-

dren help to write these textbooks and naturally write about the real life experiences they have.

Composing and writing original songs is part of the Music curriculum. Recently, the children studied the blues and were assigned to write a blues song. One of the compositions written was entitled "I Got the Homework Blues," a real, everyday problem for children.

## ABSTRACT

Science in public schools tends to be abstract. However, the Oakland Community School's Science curriculum is personalized and made real for the children. In their nutrition classes they are not simply told that spinach is good for them. They learn the components of spinach and gain an understanding of why it is a healthy food for them to eat. They learn about cell reproduction and division and therefore know what happens in their bodies, for example, when they fall down and skin their knee.

The curriculum of the Oakland Community School has achieved such great success because of the efforts of the staff to make it consistent. The development of the curriculum overview has helped to unify the instructors in the teaching methods they use. The result has been a clear, concise academic program that is providing students at the Oakland Community School with an education unique in America. □

## Save The Children

## Oakland Community School

## OUR HEALTH



### A Cure For Insomnia?

In last week's health column we discussed insomnia and the harmful effects of some non-prescription sleep-inducing drugs. *Newsweek* magazine reported last week that two Baltimore researchers have discovered strong evidence that a substance called l-tryptophane, found naturally in many foods, may overcome sleeplessness without the risk of addiction.

L-tryptophane is one of the amino acids (chemicals into which food proteins are broken down during digestion) essential in human nutrition. Large quantities of it may be found in meat, milk and cheese. Over the past few years several researchers have suggested that l-tryptophane may act as a natural sedative if taken in a sufficient dose.

To further test this theory, Dr. Clinton Brown of John Hopkins University and Dr. Althea M.J. Wagman of the Maryland Psychiatric Research Center chose 12 women who frequently took up to an hour to get to sleep. Over a period of two weeks the volunteers' sleeping patterns were electronically monitored.

Before going to bed, the women were given tablets containing up to three grams of l-tryptophane or an inert placebo—a dummy substance often used in clinical studies. The study showed that the volunteers who took the largest dose of the amino acid went to sleep on the average in only half the time they normally took to get to sleep, and that they slept 45 minutes longer.

Both Drs. Brown and Wagman warn that their research to date has involved only a small sample of subjects and that they have not yet studied hard-core insomniacs who have trouble getting any sleep at all.

It is not yet known how l-tryptophane works. However, biochemical studies of the volunteers suggest that the amino acid may increase the production of serotonin, a brain chemical suspected of playing a role in sleep. Dairy products contain large amounts of l-tryptophane and may explain why many people find they sleep better if they drink a glass of warm milk before bedtime.



## Justice Department Sues Pittsburgh Light Company

(Pittsburgh, Pa.) - The Duquesne Light Company here, charged with discriminating against Black persons and women in hiring and promoting practices, is faced with a Department of Justice civil suit in U.S. District Court here, reports the *Pittsburgh Courier*.

The suit charges the utility company adopted a practice of traditionally hiring and assigning Blacks to low paying and low opportunity jobs such as janitor.

Duquesne was also charged with hiring and assigning women to clerical and charwoman jobs which have little opportunity for advancement, while hiring and assigning similarly situated men to better paying and higher opportunity jobs.

The suit also charges the defendant followed seniority and transfer policies which tend to confine Blacks and women to the low opportunity jobs and departments to which they were initially assigned on the basis of race and sex.

### WORD-OF-MOUTH

Another charge in the suit is that the company followed a word-of-mouth recruitment practice which tends to perpetuate the racial character of its present work force.

Duquesne also used a high school education requirement for most job classifications, although this educational requirement has a discriminatory impact on Blacks and has not been shown to be a valid predictor for successful performance for the jobs in question, the suit said.

Another problem to be corrected before equality will be reached is that the tests Duquesne uses for selection, assignment, transfer and promotion tend to exclude Blacks. These tests also have not been shown to be accurate predictors of successful job performance.

The utility company also failed to identify and provide a method of correction for Black and female employees who have been discriminated against in the past on the basis of race or sex and who continue to suffer the effects of that discrimination, the suit charges.

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## U.S. POSTAL SERVICE CHARGED WITH RACIAL AND SEXUAL BIAS

### Oakland Black Postal Union Documents Discrimination

(Oakland, Calif.) - Discrimination, either for race or sex, accounts for 80% of postal workers who lose their jobs. Robert Taylor, information officer of Local 1004, National Alliance of Postal and Federal Employees (NAPFE), told *THE BLACK PANTHER* last week.

At the same time the U.S. Postal Service deliberately fails to promote its affirmative action, equal employment opportunity program, and engages repeatedly in harassment, intimidation, delay and outright undermining of complaints by postal workers who have been victims of racist or sexist discrimination.

With this issue *THE BLACK PANTHER* begins a series of articles on discrimination and racism within the postal service with special emphasis on the total failure of the affirmative action procedures of the postal service to facilitate either inquiry into complaints or resolution of those complaints to the satisfaction of the victims.

Information for this series will be provided to us from the files of

Emblem of the National Alliance of Postal and Federal Employees, whose motto is "The Union That Cares About Every Member."



the Oakland local of the National Alliance of Postal and Federal Employees. The NAPFE is currently engaged in a struggle with the U.S. Postal Service to gain the right to represent its predominantly Black membership. The National Alliance is the country's oldest Black-led union. On October 24 through 26 the National Alliance will be holding its 62nd Anniversary Convention.

### MANDATE

"Executive Order 11478, August 6, 1969, as amended by Executive Order 11590, mandates that the Government of the United States shall provide equal opportunity in federal employment for all persons; prohibit discrimination in employment

because of race, color, religion, sex or national origin or age; and promote the full realization of equal employment opportunity through a continuing affirmative action program in each executive department and agency." This has not been the case in the U.S. Postal Service.

The National Alliance of Postal and Federal Employees is well aware of the discrimination and bias that is rampant in the postal service, and for the last 62 years we have been leading the fight against this federal racism. When affirmative action and the Equal Employment Opportunity (EEO) program came into being, we were the first to realize and utilize this vehicle to aid us in our long and difficult fight.

We had been very successful in combatting the federal forces of racism, because we forced the Civil Service Commission, which is responsible for developing regulations to be followed by all agencies in implementing the provisions of the EEO law, to do their job when they did not want to. But all of this is changing as the Civil Service Commission and the U.S. Postal Service act out a deliberate and orchestrated conspiracy against Blacks, other minorities, and the National Alliance of Postal and Federal Employees; namely nonenforcement of the Executive Orders that created affirmative action and the EEO program.

We believe this conspiracy to be nationwide and not just confined to the Western Region (the Western states). For the past couple of years, whenever a Black or other minority has filed a complaint of discrimination, authorities who are charged with directing and administering the EEO program here in the region, have consistently failed to do so.

When a complaint is filed, it is supposed to be processed immediately. There are three stages to the EEO procedure:

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## DELLUMS' CORNER

### Charges Office Bugged - Wants F.B.I. Subpoenaed

(Oakland, Calif.) - Charging that he is "one of thousands of Americans who have had their privacy invaded," popular Bay Area Congressman Ron Dellums last week told a press conference here that he wants FBI agents subpoenaed to testify before a House congressional committee if the spy agency refuses to supply details on electronic wiretaps placed in his Berkeley office in 1973.

Dellums said at the Friday news conference that he will first ask the FBI to voluntarily submit the information to him and the House Select Committee on Intelligence, of which he is a member.

It was during the House Committee hearings the day before that Dellums made the shocking disclosure that someone had bugged his Berkeley congressional office in 1972 or 1973. During the hearing — in which several former law enforcement officials and wiretap experts frankly admitted that illegal bugging is widespread in the U.S. — the progressive Black Democrat said that a high frequency radio surveillance device was discovered during a probing "sweep" of his office.

He said he felt "totally helpless" to prevent the bugging and assumed that his Capitol Hill office and telephones were tapped as well.

Dellums was a long-time opponent of U.S. aggression in Vietnam and is presently a leading advocate for civil and human rights legislation in Congress, maintaining an active participation in the Congressional Black caucus.

Calling the wiretapping "warrentless and illegal," Dellums also charged that the FBI and the American Telephone and Telegraph Company have a questionable relationship in regards to cooperating on spying on American citizens. He characterized the illegal snooping as "political harassment."



# "DOUBLE CHAINS"

## A Call To Action To Transform America's Prisons BY BILL BRENT

The following is the conclusion of "Double Chains," an in-depth examination of the inhumane conditions, brutality and the administration-instigated violence of the U.S. prison system, written by Bill Brent, a Black man presently living in forced exile in Cuba. Brother Brent knows well the true reality of America's penal system — conditions mostly hidden from public exposure — having spent 12 years in some of this country's worst prison dungeons. He is now one of the most respected Americans in Cuban residence and is soon to receive a degree in language arts from the University of Havana.

THE BLACK PANTHER thanks the Organization of Solidarity of the People of Africa, Asia and Latin America (OSPAAAL) for providing this timely information for our readers.

### CONCLUSION

This brief history of the prison situation in the state of California, from the point of view of one of its victims, serves to explain to a greater or lesser degree why, on August 7, 1970, Jonathan Jackson, a young 17-year-old Black revolutionary, in an effort to save the life of his brother, George L. Jackson, whom he knew to be in imminent danger, walked into a San Raphael courtroom, armed three other Black revolutionaries who were being held prisoner, and took control of the courtroom.

The three others were James McClain, who, after having successfully defended himself against charges of stabbing a prison guard, was being tried a second time; Ruchell Magee; and William Christmas, acting as witnesses for McClain.

The three, taking as hostages a judge, a district attorney and three jurors, left the courthouse after making the demands that the Soledad Brothers be freed and that they be given access to the news media, to inform the people of the true facts concerning the death of Fred Billingslea.

In the resulting events, the sheriff's deputies and police opened fire on the van in which the brothers were trying to make their escape. Two of the brothers were killed: one — Ruchell Magee — was badly wounded but he survived. The judge was also killed and the district attorney paralyzed.

As a result of this incident, Angela Y. Davis, a Black activist,



JONATHAN JACKSON and his daring escape attempt at Marin County courthouse brought worldwide attention to U.S. prison conditions. Jonathan was the younger brother of the now fallen Field Marshal of the Black Panther Party, George Jackson.

a Black revolutionary, a professor, was charged — along with Ruchell Magee — with complicity in the attempted escape and in the shootout.

It is obvious that Angela was brought into this and charged because of her political activities, because of the fact that she supported the Soledad Brothers and the Black Panther Party, and because of the fact that she was an effective spokesman for the Black liberation struggle and a member of the Communist Party, USA. There can be no question that the sister was innocent and she was so judged by a jury.

These facts, these statistics, are not pretty. But they are the truth, the reality with which we have to live. They are the reality with which over 200,000 human beings confined within the American prison system on any given date must contend. They are the reality that has given the prison movement its long history of militant protest.

The dedicated sisters and brothers who are struggling inside U.S. prisons have not only kept pace with political events in the outside communities; they have also provided the revolutionary movement as a whole with outstanding examples of courage and leadership.

Their demands have gone far beyond traditional prison demands for decent food and living conditions to actually challenge the U.S. prison system as well as the capitalist society which created that prison system.

The prison movement has as its immediate task contributing to the survival of political prisoners and prisoners in general, and

eventual liberation of all who have fallen victim to the U.S. prison system.

Many of you reading this will probably say, well, I feel for these people but they have committed crimes and they must be punished. I would like to say one thing in response:

In the United States, it is a crime to be born Black, to be born poor. There is a ruling class in the United States of America which controls all the laws, the institutions, the agencies of repression. The agencies of law enforcement are there specifically to protect the interests of that ruling class.

Any act which is contrary to the interests of the ruling class in the United States is considered a crime and is punishable by imprisonment. Anyone living in that system who is not a member of the ruling class, who does not have connections, who cannot afford to hire a big, expensive lawyer, is subject to being thrown into one of these prisons.

And remember, when you go, the same brutal, sadistic, vicious prison guards who teargassed Fred Billingslea, an asthmatic locked securely in his 5 by 8 cell, and beat him to death, are there waiting for you to make one mistake, to go against the interests of the ruling class so they will get a chance to do the same thing to you.

The same Court of Appeals which ruled that the death of an inmate does not violate the rights of other inmates and that inmates do not have a right to sue against violation of their human rights, will be in existence if you should happen to slip and go to one of

CONTINUED ON PAGE 26

## PEOPLE'S PERSPECTIVE

### C.I.A. ATTEMPTS CASTRO MURDER

(Washington, D.C.) — The Central Intelligence Agency made attempts to kill Premier Fidel Castro of Cuba during the administration of three Presidents according to recent disclosures by the chairman of the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence. Senator Frank Church of Idaho said that when his Committee's report on political assassinations is made public, "You will find both plots and attempts (against Castro), and they span many years. They span the years from the Eisenhower administration, through the Kennedy administration, and into the Johnson administration."

### U.S. ARMY USES SNITCH

(Washington, D.C.) — The United States Army placed an informant among a group of American lawyers defending soldiers before military courts in West German garrisons, according to documents recently revealed at the federal District Court here. The documents also provide a view into how the Army used, directed and paid a secret informant. Certain deletions had been made in the material to protect the identity of the "snitch," known as number 1351.

### ATTICA INVESTIGATION

(Attica, N.Y.) — Bernard S. Meyer, appointed to investigate prosecutions of the Attica cases, said recently that his report on the way the prosecution of the Attica cases had been handled would be completed this week. Meyer, who had planned to have the report finished by the end of September said, "There was more work to be done than was contemplated."

### F.B.I. USES ILLEGAL TECHNIQUES

(Washington, D.C.) — The Federal Bureau of Investigation continued to employ at least one of the techniques that characterized a controversial counter-intelligence operation for at least two and a half years after April, 1971 — the date it gave for officially terminating the program, according to previously classified documents made public recently. The technique used involved telephoning members of a left-wing domestic political organization under the pretext of getting information to be used, supposedly for jury duty, about their marital status, employment, place of birth and the like.



NSCAR urgently needs our help. If you would like to donate your time, skills or money, please write to the National Student Coalition Against Racism, 612 Blue Hill Avenue, Dorchester, Massachusetts 02111. ☐

## A black and white photograph capturing a large, dense crowd of people, likely at a protest or a significant public gathering. Many individuals in the crowd have their arms raised, some holding up what appear to be signs or objects. The perspective is from slightly above the crowd, looking down into it. The image is somewhat grainy and has a high-contrast, historical quality.

A medic who was administering to the wounded after the rebellion really exposed the sadism of the state troopers. James O'Day told of how a corrections officer stabbed a wounded inmate with a screw driver in his arm, legs, and rectum where he had been wounded. While testifying, O'Day became so emotional that he broke down and cried on the witness stand.

**Please make checks payable to: The Committee for Justice for Huey P. Newton.**



## C.I.A., F.B.I. Plot

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 2

port on the victim. We have been unable, however, to confirm the incident.

In secret testimony before the Rockefeller Commission, Frank Sturgis of the Watergate break-in squad confessed that he had once been asked to commit a murder for the CIA in the Miami area.

He discussed with a CIA agent, Sturgis testified, how to dispose of the body. One plan was to dump it into shark-infested waters near the Bahamas. They also considered ditching the body in the Everglades swamp, Sturgis swore.

The agent promised to identify the victim at a subsequent meeting. But, according to Sturgis' account, he began to have misgivings.

So at the second meeting, Sturgis insisted that the assassination order would have to be confirmed by a CIA staff officer. That was the last, testified Sturgis, he heard of the scheme. The CIA has denied having anything to do with domestic murder plots. □

## Justice Department

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 7

The company was also charged with failing to adopt and implement an adequate affirmative action plan to correct Duquesne's past practices and to prevent future discriminatory practices.

The suit asks for four specific corrective actions to be taken. One is that the company stop giving preferred treatment to White males in its hiring and employment practices.

The suit also seeks the elimination of all proven nonpredictatory tests as a basis for hiring, promotion, assignment and transfer. The suit also asks that the company be required to give financial compensation to victims of its discriminatory practices and to begin promoting or re-assigning Black or female employees who have been denied these opportunities.

The final request of the suit is that Duquesne be required to implement an adequate affirmative action program and take reasonable actions to correct the present effects of past discrimination. □

**Free  
The  
People**

## ON THE BLOCK

**Does Arresting The Small-Time Dealer Stop Drugs In The Community?**  
ASKED AT BROADWAY-MacARTHUR MALL

Doug Ferrari  
Dowling St.  
Program Planner



*No. Definitely not. Arresting the small-time drug pusher maybe helps curtail some of the problems externally to the community, but internally the drug busts must be on a much higher level. I'm speaking about corruption in the police department and from there on up.*

*No. I think it's controlled by big business, and the only way to control it, to help I guess, is to eliminate big business.*

Faye Moore  
1734 Blake St.  
Housewife



*No, it's not going to stop it, because wherever they got that from, they can always go somewhere else and get some more.*

*I think you see an immediate effect but it's short term. If you had the head person or near to it it would be more effective on a long term basis. But, any and every person who's selling drugs, particularly as it affects Black people, should be arrested.*

David Clark  
453 42nd St.  
United Airlines



*No, I don't think so. The small time dealers aren't doing anything. The big time dealers doing something, like the cops, they're the ones that have the dope, and they're the ones pushing it.*

*I don't think it stops it but it helps. You need an investigation by some sort of independent authority into the government, because that's where all the connections with the big pushers are.*

Jennifer Taft  
54th & Manila  
Student - Merritt



*No. I would think the thing to do would be to stop the big dealers, you know, because as long as they're in business, some way it's going to reach people.*



George Kelley  
3915 Lewis St.  
Bus Company Supervisor



Marggie Shore Brown  
MacArthur Blvd.  
Teacher



LaVerne Braxton  
Oakland.  
Accountant

BPINS photos

## Daley, F.B.I., Cops Sued By Rights Groups For Spying

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 3

ities of civil rights organizations and other politically progressive groups, including the Black Panther Party.

Members of the right-wing organization called the Legion of Justice (see article, page 3), many of whom are Chicago policemen, are also named as defendants in the suit and are charged with

having committed some of the robberies and raids on the plaintiffs, in cooperation with the Evanston (Illinois) based 113th Military Intelligence Group of the Department of Defense.

The ACLU suit is similar to but more detailed than a suit filed last November by the ACLU and the Alliance To End Repression charging illegal spying by Chi-

cago police. The ACLU has withdrawn from the earlier suit to devote its attention to the latest suit. Lawyers for the Chicago Police Department, in connection with the earlier suit, recently admitted that they spied on former Black alderman A.A. "Sammy" Rayner during his term of office from 1967 to 1971.

In a related development, a special Cook County grand jury investigating illegal spying by the Chicago Police Department recently ended its six-month probe. Indictments which may result from the investigation are expected soon. □





Artist's conception of the slave trade in the 1800s.

## Afro-American History Conference Opens

(Atlanta, Ga.) - Rallying under the theme "America for All Americans," the 60th annual convention of the Association for the Study of Afro-American Life and History (ASALH) began here this week at the Hyatt Regency Hotel.

The conference is expected to be the most significant and well-attended assembly to date according to an ASALH press release received by THE BLACK PANTHER.

More than 180 scholars, teachers and lay specialists will serve as leaders for eight general sessions and 37 workshops. All public meetings are designed with intimate relevance to the Black liberation movement in America and throughout the world. The numerous sessions will provide opportunities for exploration and planning of definitive action.

ASALH was organized by the late Dr. Carter G. Woodson, Harvard University trained historian, in 1915 in Chicago, and was incorporated that same year as a District of Columbia nonprofit organization.

In 1920, Dr. Woodson launched Associated Publishers Inc. to publish books and pictures by and about Blacks. Such literature, at that time, was generally not accepted by other publishing firms.

Now the tradition of progressive action on behalf of the Black community is being carried on at ASALH's 60th convention. The CONTINUED ON PAGE 26

# MONROE COUNTY JAIL OFFICIALS SUED

"Unnecessarily Harsh Conditions" For Women Inmates In Upstate N.Y.

(Rochester, N.Y.) - Officials of the Monroe County Jail are being taken to court, charged with "maintaining unnecessarily harsh conditions in the county's jail," reports the *Rochester Patriot*.

In a trial scheduled to begin this week, County Manager Lucien Morin, Sheriff William Lombard, jail superintendent Robert Stanwick, and the county of Monroe will be charged with violating the law as regards conditions in the jail.

The suit, filed more than a year and a half ago, seeks to have the violations in the jail corrected. It also seeks a total of \$415,000 in damages for six former inmates of the county jail.

The suit deals with the denial of access to the women of job and other programs that the men participate in. It also cites restrictive visiting procedures, the lack of opportunity for exercise, inadequate medical care, the lack of privacy of the mail and arbitrary disciplinary processes in the jail.

David Beier, one of the lawyers working on the case, says that many of the conditions the suit seeks to correct in the county jail were corrected long ago in state prisons.

"I've been told by some



The plight of Black women prison inmates is too often ignored.

prisoners that they'd rather be in Attica than in the county jail because conditions in the county jail are so much worse than conditions for convicted felons in state prisons," says Beier.

According to Beier, the suit is asking that the county jail meet certain minimal requirements, including:

- Allowing "contact visits." Currently all visits are done through glass plates with telephones. Prisoners in state penitentiaries are currently allowed contact visits. County prisoners are not.

- Allowing visits from persons other than immediate family. Currently some friends are allowed to visit county inmates, but any guard can arbitrarily decide

to forbid such visits.

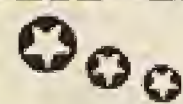
- Allowing the inmates some opportunity for outdoor recreation. State prisoners are allowed such exercise.

- An end to all reading of private mail by officials.

- Equal access for women to such things as library time, the work release program and jobs in jail.

- Expansion of due process rights on any disciplinary charges against the prisoners.

The trial will be held in the Hall of Justice. Attorneys Beier and David Leven, both with the Monroe County Legal Assistance Corporation, expect to bring in several national experts on prison procedures to help make their case. □



## The Oakland Community Learning Center's Autumn / Winter Free Film Series

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CLAUDINE

October 21, 1975



The Dutchman  
October 28, 1975



Nothing But A Man  
November 4, 1975



To Be Young, Gifted & Black  
November 11, 1975





DAVID G. Du BOIS (second from left), editor-in-chief of *THE BLACK PANTHER*, was a prominent participant in the high school journalism conference.

## California High School Journalists

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 5

attempts to create trumped-up cases involving members of the Black Panther Party.

Among other professional media workers who acted as resource persons for the conference were Joseph Boyce, San Francisco Bureau of *Time* magazine; Grayson Mitchell, *Ebony/Jet*; Gerri Lange, formerly of Channel 44 and Channel 7 TV; Carleton Jones of the San Francisco *Sun Reporter*; Marian Bowdry of KBHK-TV; Ben Williams of KPIX-TV; Roy Freeman of KRE Radio; Bob Hayes, Carol Pogash and Bill Boldenweck of the *San Francisco Examiner*; Bob Levering and Fred Gardner of the *Bay Guardian*, as well as Mike Devito, Mike Sorgen and Pat Devito of the American Civil Liberties Union.

### DISCUSSED

The Investigative Reporting panel discussed reporting techniques; community, governmental and research sources; the interview; technical data; watching out for libel; using privileged speech and documents; follow-up; keeping a story alive and specific situations begging for student investigative reporting.

The Campus and Community panel, for which Brother Du Bois was one of four resource professionals, examined the particular characteristics and problems of the school as it functions in a community, relating community concerns about the school to the student; kinds of stories in the community suitable for the school paper; consumer affairs; the job market; educational controversies; race relations; drugs and VD; juvenile courts and prisons, etc.

The Legal Issues panel examined First Amendment rights as applicable to high school students; student and teacher problems in workshops; censorship laws and the proper role of a faculty adviser; criteria for who works on the paper; how to educate teachers; and how to persuade principles and school administra-

tors to recognize and respect the rights of students.

The TV, Radio and Video panel discussed access to equipment; training inside and outside the school; legal aspects of content for video; how to get school boards to invest money in sophisticated communications; where can students play or broadcast their productions; and how to set up a program for radio or TV.

The Conference was jointly sponsored by the American Friends Service Committee; the Robert F. Kennedy Memorial, Youth Law Center; ACLU, Berkeley-Albany Branch; the Northern California Journalism Education Association and the San Francisco State University Journalism Department.

In addition to the enthusiasm demonstrated by the high school students that participated in the Conference, its success was largely the result of the dedicated work of Valerie Black of the American Friends Service Committee, Patty Fisher, Berkeley High School newspaper adviser and Lenny Conway of the Robert F. Kennedy Memorial, responsible for initiating the idea of the Conference. □

# NO. CAROLINA B.P.P. HEAD THREATENED BY K.K.K.

CONTINUED FROM FRONT PAGE

Shortly after learning of the threats against his life, Larry Little held a news conference announcing the fact and reaffirming his determination to continue his leadership of the Winston-Salem Chapter of the Black Panther Party and his work in defense of JoAnne Little.

About a week after the news conference, Carl Parker, leader of the KKK in Trinity, North Carolina, admitted on a newscast that there were people within his organization who had stated they would kill Larry Little. He also stated that there was possibly a contract out on Larry, but he claimed that he had nothing to do with it.

### ANOTHER CALL

On October 8, another call to the Party officer here from FBI agent Zackery T. Lowe informed the comrades that the FBI had received information of additional threats on the life of Larry Little that did not come from the KKK, but from another group that he refused to identify.

How Larry Little's name appears on a list of business executives responsible for damaging the environment is not explained, and raises questions in the minds of many about who else was on the list and for what reasons.

Larry told newsmen at his press conference that his first and only visit to Sacramento, California, had been several weeks ago, accompanying JoAnne Little and Elaine Brown to a conference of Black elected officials, at which

he and JoAnne spoke. They shared the speaker's roster with California Lt. Gov. Mervyn Dymally and Congresswoman Yvonne Braithwaite Burke among others.

At the height of these developments the Ku Klux Klan staged a rally in a field about 15 miles outside Winston-Salem, at which a huge cross was burned, hot dogs, hamburgers, and Klan souvenirs were sold and a major pitch was made for new mem-



JoANNE LITTLE and LARRY LITTLE at recent California Black political conference, with Lt. Governor MERVYN DY-MALLY (left), Congresswoman YVONNE BRAITHWAITE BURKE (center) and Black Panther Party leader ELAINE BROWN.

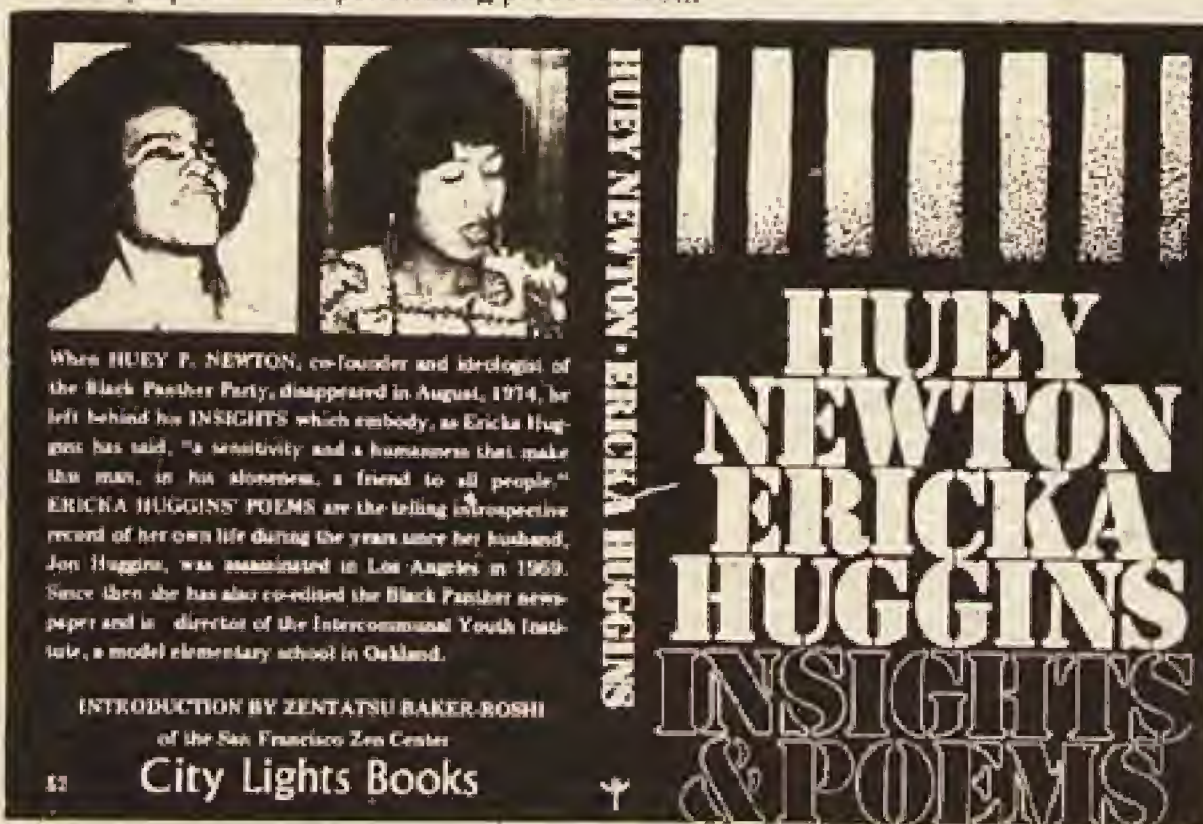
bers. Reportedly about 200 "middle-class rural Whites" attended the rally, held on a Saturday night, September 13, many dressed in Klan hooded robes.

The same Joe Grady who had telephoned the Black Panther Party office here on May 24 confirming the threat against Larry Little helped organize the rally. He and other Klan officials told newsmen at the rally, according to the *Winston-Salem Sentinel*, that "Klan membership is booming."

The paper reports that several Klansmen at the rally carried and brandished ice picks with the KKK initials carved into the handle, a demonstration of protest against the acquittal of JoAnne Little for the ice pick slaying of the racist jail guard Clarence Alligood who attempted to rape her.

John Howard, 29-year-old Grand Dragon for the South Carolina realm of the KKK, told the crowd that Black Panthers should be "taken back to Africa" where it's all right to act like a panther.

—Johnny Spain: "... a penetrating probe for truth



By Black Panther Party leader  
HUEY P. NEWTON  
and  
Oakland Community School Director  
ERICKA HUGGINS

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# REVOLUTIONARY SUICIDE

By Huey P. Newton

## "Reading"

When he was in high school, racist school authorities told Huey P. Newton that he was not "college material." In defiance of this, Huey set out to learn how to read. We learn in this portion of "Reading" from *Revolutionary Suicide*, by the leader and chief theoretician of the Black Panther Party, that he experienced great shame over not being able to read although it was no fault of his own. Through hard work and perseverance he learned the basics of reading and in the process gained a love for books and reading which opened up a new world to him. In the beginning of the chapter "Moving On," Huey explains how he had come to a critical stage in his life. "I became adrift. I began to ques-

tion everything about my life." He was searching for a "haven of security" which he could not find.

### PART 21

I spent long hours every day at home going through the *Republic* and pronouncing the words I knew. If I did not know a word, I would look it up in the dictionary, learn how to sound it out if I could, and then learn the meaning. Proper names and Greek words were difficult, and I soon began to ignore them. Day after day, for eight or nine hours at a time, I worked on that book, going over it page by page, word by word. I had no help from anyone because I did not want it.

Embarrassment overwhelmed me. My mother loved reading and devoured books. Here I was, an adult who could not read, as my father, my mother, and Melvin could. I felt so low I stayed in my room where nobody could see what I was doing, poring over the words, using the dictionary on every single line, and memorizing the sounds and the meanings.

### SHOCKED

Once or twice I asked Melvin to pronounce a word for me or explain it. He was shocked that I could not recognize some of them and at first, I think, disgusted. That hurt. His disgust could not compare with my own. He said that not knowing how to read was a very bad thing, but I knew that by then, and his disapproval made it even more difficult to learn. My sense of shame had kept me from seeking help earlier; now it became impossible for me to ask. I had to do it myself.

It seems to me that nothing is more painful than a sense of shame that overwhelms you and afflicts the soul. This pain may not even be your fault, but it can still be very acute. It hurts more when you know that there is no natural process, as in the body, whereby the pain will go away. You have to relieve it with your own strength of will, your own discipline, and determination. I had been hurt many times in fights, but nothing equaled the pain I felt at not being able to read. The pain from fighting went away in time. The shame I felt would not go away.

I do not know how long it took me to go through Plato the first time, probably several months.



Many Black youth end up like Huey Newton did, finishing a high school education and being functionally illiterate.

When I finally finished, I started over again. I was not trying to deal with the ideas or concepts, just learning to recognize the words. I went through the book about eight or nine times before I felt I had mastered the material. Later on, I studied the *Republic* in college. By then I was prepared for it.

When I began to read, a whole new world opened to me. I became interested in books. I still could not read very well, but each new book made it easier. I did not mind spending many hours, because reading was enjoyment, rather than work. When I reached this point, I accumulated books and read one after another. I did this all through my senior year in high school and the summer following. By the time I really knew my way through a book I had graduated from high school.

## "Moving On"

"All my life I had been looking for something, and everywhere I turned someone tried to tell me what it was. I accepted their answers too, though they were often in contradiction and even self-contradictory. I was naïve, I was looking for myself and asking everyone except myself questions which I, and only I, could answer. It took me a long time and much painful boomeranging of my expectations to achieve a realization everyone else appears to have been born with: That I am nobody but myself."

Ralph Ellison, *The Invisible Man*.

About two years before I completed high school, my inner life was plunged into a sea of confusion and turmoil that lasted until Bobby Seale and I organized

the Black Panther Party. For four years I went through the kind of pain that comes when you are letting go of old beliefs and certainties and have nothing to take their place.

This distress had begun earlier and was a result of contrasting and varying elements in my life. As I matured physically, the problems seemed more insoluble, the strain greater; I felt adrift. I began to question everything about my life. There seemed no haven of security in anything I was doing or hoping to do.

### RELIGIOUS ACTIVITIES

I questioned my religious activities and my search for God. I questioned whether school was worth the effort. Most of all, I questioned what was happening in my own family and in the community around me.

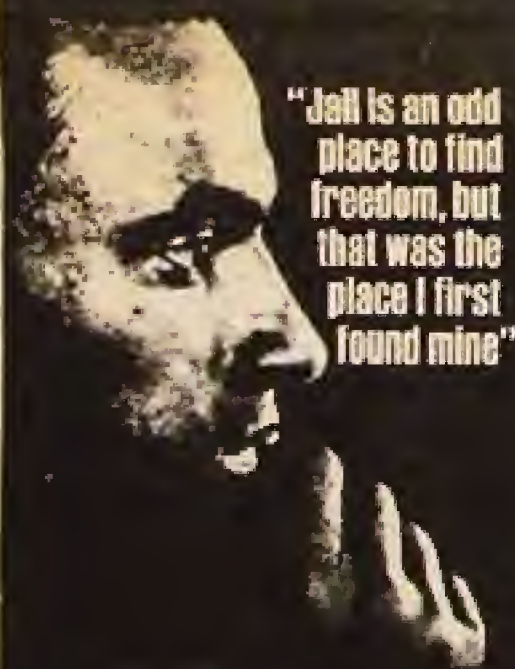
My father's struggle with bills was common in many of the families of my comrades. He had worked hard all his life only to sink more deeply in debt. It seemed that no matter how hard he worked and sacrificed for his family, it led to more work. Things never became easier.

I began to ask why this had happened to us and to everybody around us. Why could my father never get out of debt? If hard work brought success, why did we not see more success in the community? The people were certainly working hard. It seemed we were predestined to endless toil.

We poor people never reached the point of having time to pursue the things we wanted. We had neither leisure time nor material goods. Not only did I want to know why this was so; I wanted to avoid a similar fate.

TO BE CONTINUED

## REVOLUTIONARY SUICIDE



"Jail is an odd place to find freedom, but that was the place I first found mine"

Huey P. Newton

With power and passion, the co-founder of the Black Panther Party tells his life story. Here is the dynamic account of the making of a revolutionary. Boyhood amid a deeply religious and loving family. Adolescence as thief, hustler, ghetto-survivor. Murder trial for the death of a policeman—a cause célèbre that inspired the militant cry "Free Huey." Conviction. Imprisonment. And final exoneration. Huey P. Newton's autobiography "in a most moving sense is a testament to the black American's pain and dilemma in the 1970s." —Publishers Weekly

24 pages of photographs \$6.95

To purchase this book, send \$8.95 (hard-bound) or \$1.95 (paper-back) in cash or money order to: Central Distribution, 8501 E. 14th Street, Oakland, California 94621. Also available by Huey P. Newton: To Die For The People, \$1.95.

Harcourt Brace Jovanovich



FIRST NOVEL BY BLACK PANTHER EDITOR-IN-CHIEF RECEIVES RAVE REVIEWS

# "...AND BID HIM SING" CRITICALLY ACCLAIMED

...AND BID HIM SING, the first novel of David Graham Du Bois, Editor-in-Chief of THE BLACK PANTHER Intercommunal News Service and official spokesperson of the Black Panther Party, was published on April 27, 1975, by Ramparts Press in Palo Alto, California.

Although these few reviews that have appeared have ranged from good to excellent, with one significant exception (The Washington Star, Aug. 3, 1975) the novel has largely been ignored by the Black, establishment and alternative press. For this reason, with this issue THE BLACK PANTHER is reprinting for its readers excerpts from reviews that have appeared and, beginning the serialization of ...AND BID HIM SING, in the hope of breaking through the curtain of silence lowered on this important work of art.

Martin Levin  
THE NEW YORK TIMES BOOK REVIEW  
June 29, 1975

"David Graham Du Bois has turned a stay in Cairo during the 1960s into an insider's view of life among a colony of black American expatriates. The spectrum of personalities is broad — ranging from Bob Jones, like the author, an editor for the official news agency, to Suliman, a desultory student of Arabic and a gifted poet. Suliman has a game leg, the result of osteomyelitis, and a brooding philosophical perspective and a good position in the local pecking order. What unifies them and their friends is the feeling that they are

putting down roots in a more hospitable soil than that of the United States. A visit by Malcolm X provides an ideological solidarity that is short-lived.

"Mr. Du Bois presents an intriguing picture of the Cairo scene on the eve of the 1967 war. Its focus is on Suliman, ungrateful, irascible and talented, who comes into his own as a small celebrity just in time to be evacuated because of the hostilities. This is the crowning irony in a collection of parables that Mr. Du Bois sees with a sympathetic but clear eye."

PUBLISHERS WEEKLY  
March 17, 1975

"Suliman, a Black American poet, is a new arrival in Cairo in the 1960s. He has converted to Islam, is studying Arabic, but is still full of Black rage. Then the civilizing influence of the natives, the mellowing effect of a love affair with a White American Muslim woman, and the common sense advice of a veteran Black American journalist combine to set Suliman on the right track. He starts giving English lessons, gets a book of poems published, greets Malcolm X when he visits, and takes responsibility for organizing a branch of Malcolm's Afro-American Unity organization. Then comes the 1967 war with Israel, all Americans are ordered to leave Egypt, and Suliman's new world is shattered. The author, a stepson of W.E.B. Du Bois, has created an interesting case of unusual individuals and set them in movement against a sharply observed background of honky-tonk Cairo."

Lawrence C.X.  
MUHAMMAD SPEAKS  
September 6, 1975

"It is a story of Black American expatriates living in Cairo, Egypt, during the Sixties. Doubtlessly, it is a story of Mr. Du Bois' experiences in Cairo during the same era as a news correspondent. Throughout, he artfully uses narrator Bob Jones, journalist, to tell the tale of Suliman Ibn Rashid. He tells of Malcolm Little's defection from the Nation of Islam, his arrival in Cairo shortly thereafter, and his subsequent death. Around this Mr. Du Bois attempts to show what effect Malcolm had on Blacks and Egyptians living in Cairo. However, this attempt falls short of its intended goal. Frequent reference to the Nation of Islam and to the Honorable Master Elijah Muhammad, center around what Mr. Du Bois portrays as Egyptian bewilderment to the Nation's teachings.

"Written before the Honorable W.D. Muhammad succeeded the Messenger as leader of the Muslim Nation in North America, it would be interesting to note the reaction of Mr. Du Bois, Arab Muslims and Suliman to recent developments in the Nation of Islam."

"As a novelist, Mr. Du Bois has successfully portrayed his experiences as a Black American in Africa during the turbulent sixties, the era of Black renaissance and White backlash. Its value is that it could have only been written by a man who has made a specific journey himself. Finally, the language is unpretentious, with concrete sentence structure indicative of Mr. Du Bois's journalistic background."



DAVID G. Du BOIS, author of ... And Bid Him Sing, with his mother, SHIRLEY GRAHAM Du BOIS (left), widow of the great W.E.B. Du Bois, and Ms. ERICKA HUGGINS, director of the Oakland Community School, at 1975 Book Party.

CHOICE  
Journal of the American Library Association  
September, 1975

"Du Bois' first novel brings 'in the general literature consciousness,' to use Doris Lessing's words written in 1962, 'information about

areas of life we don't know.' Such information is not in the general literature consciousness, that is, because few writers to date have shaped a fiction which compels attention. Du Bois thus performs an educational as well as a literary service. The setting is Egypt in the few years prior to the Six-Day War of 1967. The characters are mostly expatriate Black Americans searching for their identity, as the phrase goes—a task made both urgent and difficult because of the revolution in self-consciousness among Black Americans in their own country. The rhetoric of revolution, the frustrations, the anger and sense of betrayal—these are reported with care, but Du Bois makes use of his materials to probe for wisdom beyond race and place. Recommended for all collections of contemporary fiction."

Ralph J. Gleason  
SAN FRANCISCO EXAMINER-CHRONICLE  
June 1, 1975

"Du Bois' novel is a subtle and fascinating account of the relationships between Black American exiles, native Egyptians and the whole complex social and political situation in Cairo during the time of Malcolm X's visit there before he was assassinated. Right in the direct line of the great socio-fictional works of Richard Wright (Black Power and Native Son), James Baldwin (Nobody Knows My Name and The Fire Next Time), and John A. Williams (The Man Who Cried I Am), Du Bois' book should be read not just for the story in the novelistic sense but for what it tells us about these people, each of whom, in some way or another, represents a class in today's sea of conflicting interests."

Bertha Gaffney-Gorman  
THE SACRAMENTO BEE  
July 13, 1975

"Racism is a crippling disease, causing extensive moral and spiritual damage to its carrier and its victim. Yet few people are willing to discuss the causes, the effects or possible cures for the dreadful malady. David Graham Du Bois, stepson of African-American scholar author W.E.B. Du Bois, has unveiled, at least in part, one aspect of the omnipresent mind and soul cripple."

"Du Bois' message is a sad one. In essence he is saying once a person is a victim of racism, that person is for years afterwards a victim — viewing the world and people through the eyes of an oppressed person in a racist society. The results, as exposed through Du Bois' characters, are devastating to men who, feeling alien in the land where they were born and their ancestors shared, moved to a country they had never known to live among people whose customs are not as they (the fugitives) had envisioned."

"It is an interesting book, painful to read. One that causes sleepless nights for persons experiencing the burden of racism. Presented as fiction it answers no questions and provides no background or statistics."

"This is Du Bois' first novel — an excellent piece of work. It also is Ramparts' first publication of a novel."

Floyd Salas  
NARCISSE BARR  
October 3-9, 1975

"Reality is hard to come by," Ralph Ellison said in the Paris Review interviews. And most fiction writing rarely reaches that level and that includes the work of very popular, so-called serious writers. David Du Bois reaches it in most of AND BID HIM SING... Du Bois outdoes himself with the creation of the two major characters. One is a small, bitter black man with a withered leg called Suliman who has the tragic stature of the humpbacked Richard The Third or the protagonist of Dostoyevsky's Notes from the Underground. The other, Bob Jones, is the alternate voice of the author, who casts himself as a persona in the story and who also tells parts of the story in first person chapters...

"By writing of the lives of these two men, Du Bois creates a reality of Egypt that is equal to if not the same as that of Lawrence Durrell. One remembers these men when one puts the book down and suffers over the undeveloped and wasted genius of Suliman..."

"Du Bois achieves this reality by giving us the bad side of a man, not just his good side — a common practice of American writers who attempt to win the reader's favor. He does not weight the book in favor of his protagonist. He is too honest. He offers no propaganda but his statement on the oppression of the Black man in the late sixties is a powerful consciousness raiser. He remains true to his art and achieves social significance, too..."

"Du Bois teaches us here. He reaches Truth. He catches the essence of the Black man of his time in all his complexity. He rises from the personal details of Suliman's life to the archetypal. That is the function of serious literature. He sees us deeply as any great writer into the character of a human being. Suliman remains imbedded in one's mind like Bigger Thomas in Native Son. While Bob Jones, the intellectual, has as much validity as the hero of Invisible Man, though he manages to keep from becoming a martyr like that Black man who lives unseen and unknown in the basement of a New York house..."

"I believe that the passage of time will be kind to Du Bois' book and that it will take its place with other great American ethnic novels."

THE NEW YORKER  
June 9, 1975

"This broad view of a wide variety of American Blacks who went to Africa in search of a new identity presents a vivid, intimate picture of a tumultuous and somewhat naïvely optimistic era. Mr. Du Bois is particularly revealing about the misapprehensions and misunderstandings between Americans and Egyptians, and about the disappointment felt by Americans who expected the Egyptians to be more 'African' than they turned out to be... A fascinating bit of history; if you can live with the author's alternately jaded and pedantic writing."

L.W. Griffin  
LIBRARY JOURNAL  
May 15, 1975

"In spite of occasional amateurishness, Du Bois' book is remarkably written, interesting because of its exotic setting, and valuable as a sociological document."

## "...AND BID HIM SING" BY DAVID G. Du BOIS EXCITING NEW NOVEL EXAMINES LIVES OF BLACK AMERICANS IN EGYPT



### PART I

Suliman had listened, he didn't know how long, to the new familiar sounds of the crowded tiled floor. The acrid odor of oil-laden cooking had penetrated his fitful dreams, snatches of which came darling back into his consciousness as he lay dozing on the sweat-dampened sheet. The ankle-length galabiya he wore had crawled up around his thighs. The top sheet slept lay in a tight knot at the foot of the lumpy mattress. The morning cool had now given way to the midday heat.

He blinked opening his eyes. He had had the tiny room painted before moving in two months earlier. But the paint had been a cheap mixture that had been applied with an antiquated roller. It was already fading and rubbing off. His efforts to remove stains left by greasy hands, dirty hands and the dust and grime that came in through the only window had left blotches of exposed plaster. The single window had been the biggest headache. It opened onto a narrow inner wharf. The three screens above his cut off most of the little light that might have penetrated and prevented anything but the faintest breeze.

But it was the use of the shaft as a general trash bin that had really created the problem.

In the first month his complaints about this penitence had nearly gotten him into serious trouble with the tenants above. He soon learned, however, that everybody in the building who had an opening into the shaft beat and shook rags, tossed garbage, cigarette butts, orange peels and everything else into it random. Nothing he could do would stop it. He was sure that everything that came from above landed either on his window sill or in his room.

### THANKFUL

He was thankful that it was warm enough for him to take a shower. He wondered where Karima was and concluded she'd either be down the hall or out shopping. At least, he hoped it was one of those two. He was never quite sure about her, although she was careful to give him no reason not to be. He tried not to think about it. After all, he could easily get out of the whole thing by simply making the Muslim declaration "I divorce thee" three times, and that would be that. He often told himself that if he ever had reason to believe she was back on the hook, that's exactly what he'd do.

That also was good about helping him shower. That arrangement had been a pain in

the neck at first. The shower consisted of a single tap of cold water that little more than trickled from an ancient shower head suspended over a concave hole in the floor. The hole was both drain and outlet. When he first saw the room, evidence of the hole's latter use was caked around its rim. He had cleaned it with his hand and a stiff brush. The tiny shower-bucket was partitioned off from the room by a thin boarding. It, together with a small sink facing it, took up that end of the room, less than four yards across.

For his showers Karima would heat water on the kerosene primus, mix it with cold water and patiently pour the liquid liquid over him as he soaped and scrubbed himself. She seemed to get much pleasure from doing this. That was why he'd let her — most of the time. But sometimes he couldn't bear to have her help him in this way. He had convinced himself that she did it out of pity because of his shriveled leg. Rather than refuse her automatic offer when a shower was mentioned, he'd just not bathe and wait until she was out. But unless there was something urgent, he didn't bathe. She never complained about the stinky odor of CONTINUED ON PAGE 21



# THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY PROGRAM

## MARCH 29, 1972 PLATFORM

### WHAT WE WANT, WHAT WE BELIEVE

#### 1. WE WANT FREEDOM. WE WANT POWER TO DETERMINE THE DESTINY OF OUR BLACK AND OPPRESSED COMMUNITIES.

We believe that Black and oppressed people will not be free until we are able to determine our destinies in our own communities ourselves, by fully controlling all the institutions which exist in our communities.

#### 2. WE WANT FULL EMPLOYMENT FOR OUR PEOPLE.

We believe that the federal government is responsible and obligated to give every person employment or a guaranteed income. We believe that if the American businessmen will not give full employment, then the technology and means of production should be taken from the businessmen and placed in the community so that the people of the community can organize and employ all of its people and give a high standard of living.

#### 3. WE WANT AN END TO THE ROBBERY BY THE CAPITALIST OF OUR BLACK AND OPPRESSED COMMUNITIES.

We believe that this racist government has robbed us and now we are demanding the overdue debt of forty acres and two mules. Forty acres and two mules were promised 100 years ago as restitution for slave labor and mass murder of Black people. We will accept the payment in currency which will be distributed to our many communities. The American racist has taken part in the slaughter of over fifty million Black people. Therefore, we feel this is a modest demand that we make.

#### 4. WE WANT DECENT HOUSING, FIT FOR THE SHELTER OF HUMAN BEINGS.

We believe that if the landlords will not give decent housing to our Black and oppressed communities, then the housing and the land should be made into cooperatives so that the people in our communities, with government aid, can build and make decent housing for the people.

#### 5. WE WANT EDUCATION FOR OUR PEOPLE THAT EXPOSES THE TRUE NATURE OF THIS DECADENT AMERICAN SOCIETY. WE WANT EDUCATION THAT TEACHES US OUR TRUE HISTORY AND OUR ROLE IN THE PRESENT-DAY SOCIETY.

We believe in an educational system that will give to our people a knowledge of self. If you do not have knowledge of yourself and your position in the society and the world, then you will have little chance to know anything else.

#### 6. WE WANT COMPLETELY FREE HEALTH CARE FOR ALL BLACK AND OPPRESSED PEOPLE.

We believe that the government must provide, free of charge, for the people, health facilities which will not only treat our illnesses, most of which have come about as a result of our oppression, but which will also develop preventative medical programs to guarantee our future survival. We believe that mass health education and research programs must be developed to give all Black and oppressed people access to advanced scientific and medical information, so we may provide ourselves with proper medical attention and care.

#### 7. WE WANT AN IMMEDIATE END TO POLICE BRUTALITY AND MURDER OF BLACK PEOPLE, OTHER PEOPLE OF COLOR, ALL OPPRESSED PEOPLE INSIDE THE UNITED STATES.

We believe that the racist and fascist government of the United States uses its domestic enforcement agencies to carry out its program of oppression against Black people, other people of color and poor

people inside the United States. We believe it is our right, therefore, to defend ourselves against such armed forces and that all Black and oppressed people should be armed for self-defense of our homes and communities against these fascist police forces.

#### 8. WE WANT AN IMMEDIATE END TO ALL WARS OF AGGRESSION.

We believe that the various conflicts which exist around the world stem directly from the aggressive desires of the U.S. ruling circle and government to force its domination upon the oppressed people of the world. We believe that if the U.S. government or its lackeys do not cease these aggressive wars that it is the right of the people to defend themselves by any means necessary against their aggressors.

#### 9. WE WANT FREEDOM FOR ALL BLACK AND POOR OPPRESSED PEOPLE NOW HELD IN U.S. FEDERAL, STATE, COUNTY, CITY AND MILITARY PRISONS AND JAILS. WE WANT TRIALS BY A JURY OF PEERS FOR ALL PERSONS CHARGED WITH SO-CALLED CRIMES UNDER THE LAWS OF THIS COUNTRY.

We believe that the many Black and poor oppressed people now held in U.S. prisons and jails have not received fair and impartial trials under a racist and fascist judicial system and should be free from incarceration. We believe in the ultimate elimination of all wretched, inhuman penal institutions, because the masses of men and women imprisoned inside the United States or by the U.S. military are the victims of oppressive conditions which are the real cause of their imprisonment. We believe that when persons are brought to trial that they must be guaranteed, by the United States, juries of their peers, attorneys of their choice and freedom from imprisonment while awaiting trials.

#### 10. WE WANT LAND, BREAD, HOUSING, EDUCATION, CLOTHING, JUSTICE, PEACE AND PEOPLE'S COMMUNITY CONTROL OF MODERN TECHNOLOGY.

When, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume, among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That, to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that, whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and, accordingly, all experience hath shown that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But, when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security.





# Intercommunal News

## AFRICAN, ARAB U.N. MEMBERS BLAST MOYNIHAN FOR RACIST SLUR OF IDI AMIN

(United Nations, N.Y.) — African and Arab members of the United Nations General Assembly denounced Daniel P. Moynihan, U.S. chief delegate to the U.N., last week for his use of the term "racist murderer" in referring to President Idi Amin of Uganda.

Moynihan, of "benign neglect" infamy, had done so in a speech in San Francisco earlier as he attacked President Amin for his denunciation of Israel in a United Nations speech two weeks ago. Moynihan was speaking at the recently concluded AFL-CIO convention.

Speaking on behalf of the 46 member African group, Tiamiou Adjibade of Dahomey declared that if Moynihan confused his work in the United Nations with defense of Zionism, he should "go to Israel as soon as possible."

In the name of the 20 members of the League of Arab States, Mansur R. Kikhja of Libya accused the United States delegate of having violated traditional diplomatic courtesy. Moynihan was not present during the attacks, but Clarence Mitchell, Jr., the Black member of the U.S. delegation to the U.N. and director of the Washington Bureau of the NAACP, responded with a speech further attacking

President Idi Amin and defending Moynihan.

Adjibade demanded the floor on a point of order, whereupon Mitchell, anticipating the denunciation, objected to the raising of matters that had occurred away from the U.N. But the representative of Dahomey persisted and began his denunciation of Moynihan.

Moynihan had said in his San Francisco speech: "It is no accident, I fear, this racist murderer — as one of our leading newspapers called him this morning — is head of the Organization of African Unity."

The newspaper Moynihan was referring to was *The New York Times*, that had used the term in an editorial.

Following receipt of the news that Moynihan had made the statement, the African delegates held a caucus in New York and decided upon an open denunciation of Moynihan in reply in the General Assembly. A number of African delegates said privately it was unpardonable for the term "racist murderer" to be used to characterize a Head of State. To almost all, there is the added element that the U.S. is the host country to the United Nations.



Young Palestinian training to be a member of the liberation forces.

### Palestinians Relentlessly Attack Occupied Lands

(Beirut, Lebanon) — A Palestinian military spokesman announced here last week that Palestinian commandos continued their relentless attack against the Israeli enemy in the occupied areas in mid and late September, inflicting heavy losses in men and material.

As reported by *Hsinhua* news agency, Palestinian guerrillas twice shelled enemy targets in the town of Naharujia on September 11. All targets were hit and the Israelis suffered heavy casualties.

On September 19, Palestinian commandos placed a time bomb under an enemy intelligence officer's car in Jerusalem. Although discovered by the Israelis, the bomb exploded as an explosive expert was trying to defuse the charge, killing him and wounding a number of policemen and civilian guards standing by.

Implementing the theory, "No rest for the aggressors," time bombs were placed in a building which partly served as a rest-house for Israeli soldiers in the city of Hebron on September 27. The explosion killed or wounded many soldiers, the Palestinian spokesman stated, and destroyed a large part of the building.

On September 29, Palestinian fighters placed a time bomb under an Israeli military vehicle south of Tel Aviv. The blast totally destroyed the vehicle, killing or wounding all occupants.



CLARENCE MITCHELL, Black U.S. delegate to the U.N., raises hand to speak as African and Arab nations blasted Daniel F. Moynihan's racist slur of OAU chairman and Ugandan president IDI AMIN (inset).

### THE BLACK PANTHER

INTERCOMMUNAL NEWS SERVICE

PUBLISHED WEEKLY BY THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY

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But most insulting to them was the implied criticism of the Organization of African Unity, which represents all 46 of the independent nations of Africa, which President Idi Amin currently heads as rotating chairman.

### "UNCIVIL ATTACKS"

Protesting Moynihan's "uncivil attacks," the Dahomey representative said that the Africans had no alternative but to respond to what they saw as a "deliberate act of provocation" against President Amin and an "unfriendly" act toward the Organization of African Unity.

He said it was not surprising that journalists tried to defame the Ugandan Head of State, because of what he described as the influence of Zionism on the mass media in the U.S., especially in New York City.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 22



# APPEAL FOR CONCERTED TRADE UNION ACTION AGAINST APARTHEID IN SOUTH AFRICA

The following is Part 4 of a memorandum — reprinted from a United Nations document — by the South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU) to the 60th Session of the International Labor Conference held in Geneva in June, 1975. In the memorandum, SACTU — a nonracial trade union federation established in 1955 — calls on the international trade union movement to intensify its solidarity with the Black workers of South Africa in their continuous struggle against apartheid.

## PART 4

### G. Wage Levels and Living Standards

Apologists for apartheid have over the last two years attempted to restrict the South African debate to a discussion of wage levels and the poverty datum line. Wage increases are, of course, an important goal for the Black working class, but the struggle against apartheid is far wider than this. Racial injustice and discrimination are endemic in all sectors of South African society and wage raises alone can never compensate for the political and civil status of a slave. While White South Africans enjoy one of the highest standards of living in the world, the miseries of daily life for the Black population are being compounded by malnutrition, overcrowding, unemployment and sickness as the ruthless policy of Bantustanisation proceeds.

The denial to Africans of their right to form or to join any recognized trade unions only confirms their oppressed and servile status.

## II. BLACK LABOR IN THE SOUTH AFRICAN ECONOMY

There is no doubt that the Black labor force plays a crucial role in the South African economy. Of an economically active population of about 8.5 million in February, 1975, only 1.5 million were White. In the construction industry, 337,000 of the 400,000 workers are Black; in manufacturing, 1,020,000 out of 1.3 million.

Black workers play the major role in producing South Africa's wealth, but are treated as second-class citizens when it comes to sharing out the benefits in earnings, education, housing, and so on. Wherever you look in apartheid society, there are laws to ensure that the distribution of wealth is grossly unequal.

There is, likewise, no doubt that if African workers were fully



Black workers — some are married with children but are not allowed to bring their families with them — in the bleak quarters of a mining "singles" hostel in South Africa.

organized, their enormous potential bargaining power would enable them to force major structural and qualitative changes in South African society — changes which will not only benefit the Black people but all sections of the population. Hatred and prejudice, which now rule South Africa, can only be eliminated through a major change in the distribution of power and privilege.

The potential strength of the African labor movement has already been demonstrated through strike action to bring home their grievances. This took place even in such remote areas

as Welkom, an area where demonstrations were previously unheard of. Strikes took place despite repressive legislation, backed up by machine guns, sten guns, dogs and general intimidation on the part of the White security forces. Strike action has not been confined to the mines, but has been taken in other industries such as engineering, the post offices, the transport sector and so on. The discontent of African workers is clear, but more important than this, their capacity to take effective organized action is now proven.

The grievances now being

CONTINUED ON PAGE 26

## JO-NEL'S LIQUOR STORES SUPPORT THE COMMUNITY

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## AFRICA IN FOCUS



### Nigeria

Nigeria's new head of state, Brig. Gen. Muritala Rufai Mohammed, announced last week that the country would be returned to civilian rule by October, 1979, at the latest, according to a Reuters report from Lagos. Brig. Mohammed took power two months ago in a bloodless coup that ousted Gen. Yakubu Gowon, while Gowon was attending the Organization of African Unity summit meeting in Uganda. Brig. Mohammed spoke on a nationwide broadcast on Nigeria's 15th independence anniversary. He outlined a program for a return to civilian government, including the drafting of a new constitution.

### Mozambique

The new People's Republic of Mozambique has set up a state-operated radio — "Radio Mozambique" — and appointed its director, a government announcement said last week. On the same day the Mozambique government nationalized three privately-owned radio stations, the newspaper Noticias reported.

### Ghana

The National Redemption Council of Ghana has accepted recommendations of a committee to honor former Ghanaian Head of State and Government, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah. President Nkrumah's statue will stand again in Accra opposite Parliament House, replacing the statue which was destroyed after the 1966 coup that overthrew President Nkrumah. The giant, modern conference hall built under President Nkrumah's personal direction to house the 1965 OAU summit will bear Nkrumah's name. The Accra to Tema motorway will also be named after Nkrumah, and a mausoleum will be built in Nkroful, Nkrumah's home.

### Somalia

As Somalia celebrates its National Day this year on October 21, a tragedy of unprecedented dimensions overshadows the event. Nearly 20,000 people, mostly children and the elderly, died from the effects of the drought between October, 1974, and June, 1975.



# M.P.L.A. CONSOLIDATES POWER IN ANGOLA

Europe And U.S. Arming Roberto's F.N.L.A.

(Luanda, Angola) - Despite the apparent victories of the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) in consolidating its control over key centers and the majority of the land territory of Angola, the situation remains "highly dangerous and volatile" writes *Africa* magazine in its October issue.

The economy has suffered a succession of blows from which it will take years to recover, the magazine writes, and the mass exodus of thousands of Portuguese and other Whites leaves "a vacuum" that will necessarily add to the present economic disorder. Supplies of essential commodities are drying up while the transport of goods between the interior and the ports is being disrupted by the continued fighting.

Militarily, the U.S.-backed Front for the National Liberation of Angola (FNLA), under the command of Holden Roberto, holding some territory in the north of the country bordering Zaire, is assured of unlimited arms supplies from Western countries.

Foreign support for the FNLA was stepped up in August when President Giscard d'Estaing of France rechannelled arms destined for South Africa to the FNLA's armory. *Africa* magazine writes. After Giscard's visit to Kinshasa (Zaire), a large consignment of arms was off-loaded from a French military aircraft onto FNLA trucks at Kinshasa airport. A French arms specialist at the same time visited the FNLA's "war zone."

Meanwhile, the MPLA has reported massive American arms



Reactionary FNLA troops hold two Angolan people's soldiers from the MPLA captive.

airlifts to the FNLA from West Germany.

The MPLA is under no illusions about the threats posed by its external enemies. A senior MPLA official on August 22 said that Angola's liberation war may drag on "for two or three years." The battle-lines between the MPLA and the FNLA have been drawn up with such tenacity and determination over the past year that there is now no longer any possibility of a peaceful or lasting agreement between the two, *Africa* writes.

Despite its backing, however, the FNLA is "a shaky edifice," *Africa* writes. Its reputation in Luanda (capital of Angola) is one of a would-be Zairean "army of occupation" which could only enforce its authority by terrorizing the population. It is racked by divisions among its leaders.

The latest major defection from the FNLA to the MPLA was by Mateus Neto, formerly agriculture minister in the transitional government that was composed

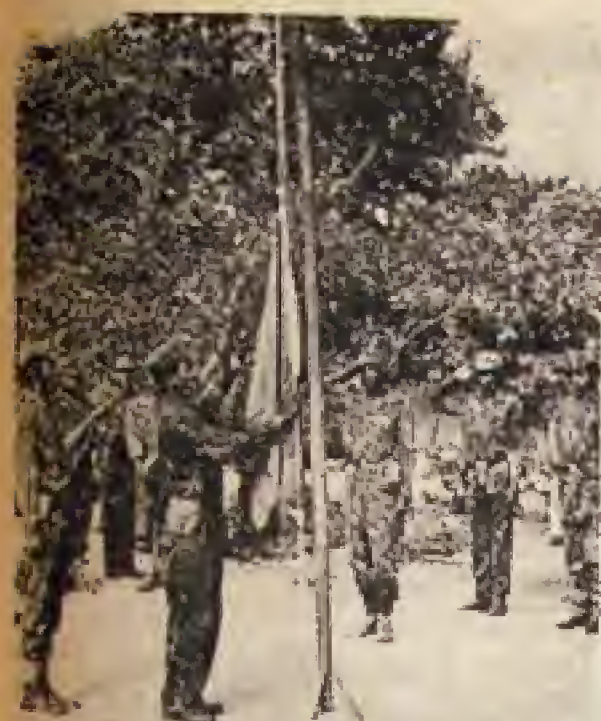
of MPLA, FNLA, UNITA and the Portuguese. FNLA and UNITA pulled out in a move calculated to undermine the peaceful transition of Angola from Portuguese administration to independence under African rule.

But the MPLA and the Portuguese continued to administer the country as military units for MPLA confronted military attacks by FNLA troops. The defection of Neto has been duplicated throughout the organization, as MPLA has shown itself capable of maintaining and consolidating its hold of the capital and 11 of the 16 provinces of the country.

The FNLA's Western backers know, *Africa* magazine writes that the movement cannot alone control more than a fraction of Angola's huge area and there has been speculation about an FNLA-UNITA alliance against the MPLA. However, this speculation was ended recently with the announcement that UNITA and MPLA had entered into talks following the conclusion of a ceasefire agreement.

There are, however, fears of increased foreign intervention, particularly from South Africa, the magazine writes. South African troops were first sent into Angola with the intention of defending the Cunene hydro-electric scheme on the border with Namibia (South West Africa). But in recent months these troops have advanced further into Angolan territory despite Portuguese protests.

At the end of August the MPLA accused South Africa of launching a "direct invasion" of southern Angola on August 22, crossing the border at Santa Clara and devastating the surrounding area before capturing the town of Namacundu. □



Namibian liberation forces.

## Namibian Liberation Army Kills 100 Enemy Troops

(Dar es Salaam, Tanzania) — The valiant People's Liberation Army of Namibia (South West Africa) killed 100 enemy troops and shot down three army helicopters between September 18 and 24, reported Sam Nujoma, president of the South West African People's Organization (SWAPO), in a recent war communique issued here and reported by *Hsinhua* news agency.

Brother Nujoma said that the People's Liberation Army, led by SWAPO, has launched a series of attacks since early this year and has inflicted heavy losses on the enemy — the racist government of South Africa which illegally rules Namibia. The Liberation Army, Brother Nujoma said, killed nearly 200 enemy troops; destroyed 28 vehicles; and captured a large quantity of military equipment between April and July of this year.

Comrade Nujoma also said that SWAPO emphatically rejected and strongly condemned the so-called constitutional conference recently engineered in Namibia by the South African regime. Nujoma explained that the participants in the conference are government puppet chiefs who have never represented the interests of the masses of Namibian people.

Comrade Nujoma attacked the brutal suppression of the Namibian people by the racist Vorster government of South Africa and emphasized that a peaceful solution to imperialism in Namibia is out of the question at the present moment.

"The people of Namibia have no other alternative but to wage armed struggle until genuine freedom is attained in their country," Nujoma stressed. □

## Rhodesia Charges FRELIMO Attack

(Salisbury, Rhodesia) - An official communique issued by the White supremacist regime here revealed that its security forces clashed last week with FRELIMO (Front for the Liberation of Angola) combat troops from the newly independent People's Republic of Mozambique.

### FIGHTING

Several incidents of fighting reportedly took place in the eastern Vumba mountains area inside Rhodesia, with at least one Rhodesian civilian killed and one wounded. Although one Mozam-

bican freedom fighter was said to be killed, the government could not substantiate the claim.

Samora Moises Machel, president of the militant Black People's Republic and FRELIMO leader, has repeatedly and vehemently denounced the White racist Ian Smith regime and pledged complete support to the Zimbabwean people's push for liberation, spearheaded by the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU).

The government of Mozambique has neither confirmed nor denied the report.



# THE AFRICAN-AMERICAN LABOR CENTER AND THE C.I.A.

By Rodney Larsen

This week *THE BLACK PANTHER* continues reprinting an original study begun last week on the undermining role played by the AFL-CIO, in conspiracy with the CIA, to co-opt and destroy the African trade union and labor movement in an effort to render the movement ineffective in fighting modern day imperialism in Africa. The study is written by Rod Larsen, a labor research specialist with a long-time background in the U.S. labor movement.

## PART 2

A close look at the African American Labor Center (AALC) will reveal a lot. In the first place, Joseph A. Beirne, the former head of the Communications Workers of America (CWA), was the original secretary-treasurer of the AALC. Beirne was the nominal founder of the American Institute for Free Labor Development (AIFLD) also — with money from CIA foundations. The CWA and Beirne have earned numerous citations in articles and studies as being involved in extensive work overseas and Agee confirms this. In fact, at a June, 1975, convention of the CWA in San Diego, over 2,000 copies of a meticulously-doc-



Textile workers from the People's Republic of the Congo. The unity of Black African workers throughout the continent is threatened by the African-American Labor Center.

umented study were distributed to the delegates that pinpointed the role of the CIA in the CWA. Fourteen members of the CWA petitioned to Senator Frank Church's Senate investigating committee to investigate.

We can also use a "classified" report of the comptroller-general of the U.S. to the Senate Foreign

Relations Committee that lists the CWA, and other American unions, as a recipient of covert funding long after the bans on such subsidies by the CIA and others. Moreover, the comptroller-general's reports explicitly states that the purpose of keeping the document from the public

CONTINUED ON PAGE 22

## WORLD SCOPE



### Timor

Amidst reports that Indonesia is secretly planning to take over the civil war torn government of Portuguese East Timor, Indonesian troops recently wiped out a military base in East Timor held by the militant Front for the Independence of East Timor (FRETILIN). All FRETILIN soldiers defending the base were killed in the fighting and their leader was captured sources said. Indonesia — which administers the western half of the Pacific island, invaded the country despite its earlier claims that it would not intervene unless asked to do so by Portugal. The Indonesian government, reports the *International Bulletin*, is backing the reactionary Democratic Union of Timor (UDT) which is seeking to take power from FRETILIN. FRETILIN has been in firm control of the island since August.

### United Nations

Workers in rural areas, prostitutes, migrant workers and children have become the new slaves of the modern world, according to the report of a special United Nations group recently issued. The group, set up last year by the U.N. Human Rights Commission, found that while traditional slavery may be dying, the new victims have no protection from existing conventions. Among the reports heard by the U.N. group were that children aged five and older work up to 12 hours a day in back-street factories in Morocco to meet the booming tourist demand for carpets and that women from poor countries are being increasingly recruited for prostitution in industrialized nations. The U.N. group described South Africa's apartheid (racial segregation) policy as the most extended form of slavery.

### Diego Garcia

The Indian Ocean island Diego Garcia is "uninhabited" because the people who had lived there for four generations were forcibly evacuated by the U.S. to make way for its naval base, a recent report by the *Washington Post* has revealed. Earlier this year, the Pentagon convinced Congress to expand the U.S. naval base on Diego Garcia because, among other reasons, the island was unpopulated.



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## ENTERTAINMENT

# "IN ONE PEACE" GETS IT TOGETHER AT SUNDAY COMMUNITY FORUM

## Lonely People

lonely people  
seeking  
life  
in sterile  
times  
vain illusions:  
hopeless,  
helpless—  
tears buy  
reasons to  
cry.  
fears of dying  
fears of living  
fears of  
being whole, while  
plaintive pleas of  
pity, ponder  
poignant poems/prose,  
and all around  
the arid ghetto  
fragrant fumes  
arise,  
funky feelings  
fondle freedom,  
fucking for the nut  
alone. . .

Michael Fultz  
—Oakland, Calif.

## Life

Life can be a ball  
Life can be sorry  
Life can be everything to you  
Life can be sunshine  
Life can be rain  
Life can be you and me  
Life is saying I love you

Let's follow this and life and love  
will be and fill more to us

Valerie Wilson,  
Oakland, Calif.

(Valerie Wilson is 11-years-old  
and is a student at the Oakland  
Community School.)

(Oakland, Calif.) - "In One Peace," a young local Bay Area musical group, awed a Son of Man Temple audience on Sunday, October 12, with their expert musicianship and tight-knit style.

The group, composed of Randy "Rabba" Merritt on drums and vocals, Rodney Franklin on electric piano and vocals, Clarence "Pookie" Jenkins on bass and vocals and Vincent Spaulding on lead guitar, have chosen a name that is as right on time as their music is very together.

As they opened their set with a couple of instrumentals—"Tomcat" and "Red Baron"—everyone knew right away that they were in for an afternoon of some hard-pushing music.

The range of "In One Peace" is unbelievable, from jazz to rock to soul. They performed such tunes as the mellow "Closer Together" by Bloodstone, "Look At Me, I'm In Love" by the Moments, "I Want To Be Free" by the Ohio Players and others. Everything they played had high quality sound and singing and everything was done so well you had the feeling you were in a recording studio with some veteran studio musicians.

Pianist Rodney Franklin got a chance to show his prowess on "Superstrut" by Deodato as he



"IN ONE PEACE" put out some very moving sounds at the Son of Man Temple Community Forum Sunday, October 12.

effortlessly laid out chord after chord, and drummer "Rabba" Merritt kept a driving beat throughout the performance, taking time out now and then for a couple of masterful solos.

Although they have been together for only about a year and a half and really came together only by accident, "In One Peace" deserves a move up the ladder in the musical scene. With their own material and the production now

given only to "bigname" artists, they have the skills to make it.

Although very few get a chance in the big money, big-business created musical world, "In One Peace" has already established itself as People's Artists at the Oakland Community Learning Center, whose purpose is to provide a show place for the abundance of talent that exists but is neglected in our community. □

## U.S. Postal Service Charged With Racial And Sexual Bias

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 7

1. Informal counseling, where the aggrieved person is advised

of his rights, and a quick solution is sought;

2. If the aggrieved person is not satisfied with the results of Step 1, then there is a formal investigation, where an investigator will interview witnesses and take sworn testimony in affidavits form; and

3. If the aggrieved person is still not satisfied, he can request a Civil Service Commission hearing.

This whole process is supposed to be completed within 180 days. This is not the case. Often 18 to 24 months go by as the Post Office drags its feet in an effort to destroy, discourage, and deny the aggrieved person his rights. Some cases are never heard from. Non-enforcement of the affirmative action EEO procedures is the name of the game.

For many, seeking to have discriminatory practices and policies overturned in the Post Office by the affirmative action laws, has been one frustrating and disappointing experience. □

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## Chicago Police Directed Attacks

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 3

of intelligence files directed against antiwar groups, communist organizations, socialist organizations, and other subversive organizations. And, also, on some occasions harassment of leftist individuals and organizations.

Q: In reference to this organization, what representations did he make as to any additional connections that he may or might have had?

A: Representations were made to connections to Army intelligence, to various other military intelligence agencies, to the Chicago Police Department, Subversive Intelligence Unit.

Q: And in connection with those representations what, if anything, did Sutton say that he or his organization were going to do?

A: Well, sir, we were working for these agencies gathering intelligence information.

Q: Well, in reference to the Red Squad, am I correct in saying it was a Red Squad at the Chicago Police Department?

A: Well, sir, I refer to it as Subversive Intelligence Unit. It is referred to by some people as a Red Squad.

Q: Did you ever meet any members of that squad?

A: Yes, sir.

Q: Did you ever meet a Sergeant Grubisic, who is presently a lieutenant?

A: Yes, sir.

Q: Speaking of Sergeant Grubisic, how did you get to know him? Were you introduced to him?

A: I was introduced to him by other officers of the intelligence unit that I had met at John Birch Society meetings.

Q: Did Sergeant Grubisic identify his job with the Chicago Police Department?

A: Yes, sir, he did. At those meetings I had occasion to be introduced to Officer Fitzgibbons of the Subversive Intelligence Unit, Officer Raymond Vase of the Subversive Intelligence Unit, and other Chicago police officers, who I am not certain of whether they were working for the subversive unit or they were ordinary Chicago police officers.

Q: In meetings that were held at the Legion of Justice did he either Sergeant Grubisic, Officer Nolan, or Fitzgibbons attend any of those meetings?

A: Sir, they attended meetings with members of the Legion of Justice.

THE COURT: What meetings are you talking about?

A: I am talking about meetings with Mr. Sutton, meetings with

me, meetings with Mr. Sedlacko, meetings with Mr. Miede at the motorcycle shop (a Legion hang-out), and other contacts that Mr. Miede had that worked with the Legion of Justice. That would have been meetings, perhaps, before — not perhaps, but, before and after an operation, intelligence-gathering operation was conducted. The police officers were advised of specifics and would supply information, cover, things of that nature.

Q: Did you ever attend a meeting wherein there were — there was conversation concerning a raid on Our Lady of the Mount?

A: Yes. I was present. Mr. Sutton was present. Mr. Sedlacko was present. Officer Fitzgibbons was present, and Mr. Miede was present.

Q: What, if anything, was discussed at that meeting, and who did the talking? Generally, what was the subject matter of that meeting?

A: The breaking into the church. Our Lady of the Mount, was discussed at that meeting. Mr. Sutton originally, as always, put forth the plan as far as breaking — put forth the plan to break into the church. He gave the reason, as always; he was the

## The African-American Labor Center

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 20

("classified") is to conceal the U.S. governmental funding of the union programs — which are often indirect subsidies to the international trade secretariats. This classified report was given to some American labor people in 1974. A copy is in the hands of this writer.

It is also true that the Postal, Telegraph and Telephone Workers (PTTI) secretariat that the CWA belongs to has been identified as a known instrument of the CIA in key areas of unrest like Brazil during the overthrow of President Goulart in 1964 and in other locations. Agee's book contains numerous references to the PTTI, and the organization works closely with the AALC.

Instruments of the AFL-CIO abroad are usually given to vast indoctrination and training programs. At one time this was rightly thought to be a means of inducing anticommunist, antinationalist and antisocialist thinking on the part of the trainees. True. However, it is also a means of surveillance and identification of key labor militants. This is well known in the case of AIFLD in Chile prior to and after the 1973 military coup. AALC officers keep



Plainclothes federal agent outside 1968 Democratic convention in Chicago. S. THOMAS SUTTON (inset) is president of ultra right Legion of Justice, which functioned with local and federal police forces to commit crimes against prominent Black and progressive groups and individuals.

one that controlled the meeting. At the time the objective was to obtain files that were relating to the Conspiracy Seven defense.

Officer Fitzgibbons took the role of supplying background information on priests and their connections to Father Groppi; in fact, connections to one of them, Father Flynn to the Saul Alinsky Institute. Father Flynn was supposed to have been trained there, as was Father Groppi.

(At another meeting) as I recall it. Mr. Sedlacko requested a cover for this operation, as in

others, we had been supplied in other operations. And Officer Nolan was going to get back to him on that. And he was also — he also requested that he check out the security system of the church.

Q: And what, if anything, was said then?

A: (At a third meeting) Officer Nolan reported back that he was unable — they were unable to provide a cover. However, they advised Mr. Sedlacko that there was no burglar alarm system.

TO BE CONTINUED

## U.N. Members Blast Moynihan Over Slur

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 17

"If Moynihan wishes to base his strategy at the U.N. on disrespect, airy and irresponsible manners, let him know henceforth that the African group will not be intimidated and will impose the respect and consideration to be expected" from the U.S. representative, Adjibade said.

He added: "If he confuses between his mission at the U.N. and the defense of Zionism, then it would be more advisable for Mr. Moynihan to go to Israel as quickly as possible instead of continuing to cast a slur on the honorability and respectability of a great power such as the United States, because such statements of a permanent representative, which publicly lack courtesy and respect toward an African Head of State and current chairman of the OAU, cannot contribute to the atmosphere of dialogue which the U.S. government is trying to create." □





## SPORTS

MARTIAL  
ARTS"Tunnel Vision"  
And Style

The idea of only studying one system or style, or clinging to one narrow viewpoint, is an antiquated viewpoint based on dogmatic beliefs in traditional proverbs that advocate blind devotion. In contemporary times, fear of change and lack of understanding of practical realities and priorities produces similar tunnel vision among practitioners.

During the early development of martial arts, such attitudes were enforced (and to a great degree still are today) to preserve the "purity" of a system or to maintain enrollment in school. But there are many disadvantages since this attitude was/is perpetuated to protect the interests—that includes selfish interests—of the master or head of a school/style or system. If all the students were thoroughly loyal to a system and school, the master did not worry about competition and outside threats to his role of authority.

This in many ways retarded the growth of the various systems because there was this strong resistance to change.

It was normal in the past, and still is a common, yet incorrect attitude today, to feel that one style or system is more effective than another. Usually this was/is due to limited exposure to other systems. We should consider that during the beginnings of martial arts in China, there existed a vast territory and limited communications. It was possible that someone in a particular system in a particular province could best everyone from other systems in that area, and conclude that his methods were better than anyone else's. Because of the lack of exposure, then, practitioners had an honest feeling regarding their systems and their effectiveness.

Today, however, with technology available for communications, practitioners can/should recognize structural weaknesses in their systems—blind adherence, again, binds many schools and their students.

Style is a matter of personal preference compatible to different body types. The notion of one style being "better" or "worse" is absurd.

## THE GREAT PRO FOOTBALL WAR

By Paul K. Hoch

In Part 3 of this insightful analysis of the ongoing conflict between the players and owners in professional football, author Paul K. Hoch draws upon some interesting comparisons with the ill-fated Player's League in professional baseball to show the power of the establishment to undermine and destroy any and all threats to the status quo.

Paul Hoch is a professor of sports sociology at Dawson College in Montreal, Canada, and is the author of *Rip Off the Big Game*, story of the exploitation of sports by the power elite.

## PART 3

The football players' strike is thus a highly significant development in itself, and provides an important barometer for measuring the feelings of other increasingly proletarianized professionals in the white collar sector.

Then, too, in the football strike, as in all other strikes, there was a strong tendency for the battle to shift beyond the wage demands which supposedly are the overt "issues" into an all-out struggle



The Negro leagues suffered the same media treatment — total neglect — as the Players' League which was established in 1890 and run by the players themselves.

over whether management or workers are to have control over the final product.

Dick Young of the *New York Daily News*, who is perhaps America's most widely read sports columnist (and certainly one of its most establishment-oriented), was quick to get the point. The real issue, he recog-

nized, was who would control the sport: the Lords of Football or the union; management or labor.

One of the main ideological obstacles to workers' control over production in industry generally is the myth that management is supplying "their" machinery, and without "their" machinery the workers would be unable to produce the goods. (Of course, in reality, the machinery is bought out of the blood and sweat of previous generations of workers, management's minimal policing role notwithstanding.)

In sports like football, except for uniforms and minimal equipment, there is obviously no "machinery" necessary to produce the product. So that, theoretically, there would seem to be no reason whatever why the players' associations could not simply rent stadiums, sell tickets, arrange TV contracts, and run the sport themselves for their own profit and benefit. Without owners.

And the possibility of doing just that has been under discussion, to one degree or another, in virtually every football or baseball players' strike in recent years:

## PRODUCTIVITY STRIKE

Indeed in 1890, in the midst of a productivity clause strike in the National League, the baseball players' union set up its own Players' League, run entirely by the union and staffed by almost all the regular players of the old league. The National League became what was politely called the "sandlot league," or more impolitely the "scab league,"

CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE



## O.C.L.C. Martial Arts Director Awarded

(Oakland, Calif.) - STEVE McCUTCHEN, director of the Oakland Community Learning Center's All Open Martial Arts Program, recently learned that he has received a "provisional" first degree black belt from the World Tae Kwon Do Federation. Steve has already been awarded the Black belt by his personal instructor but he is now an authorized candidate for this status by the leading world body in this field of martial arts.

A primary purpose of knowledge is to pass it on to others, which Steve very ably does (above photo) in his popular martial arts classes at the Learning Center. Congratulations and best wishes to Steve McCutchen in his future endeavors in combining the fields of martial arts and community growth.

BPINS photo



RUBIN "HURRICANE" CARTER INTERVIEW WITH PENTHOUSE MAGAZINE

# "AFTER THE HURRICANE, THERE IS NO MORE"

Rubin "Hurricane" Carter was falsely charged and convicted for the shotgun murder of two White men in Paterson, New Jersey, in October, 1966. He has endured nine years of imprisonment and is still in prison although two White ex-convicts have recanted the testimony that had convicted him.

In Part 5 of our reprint of a Penthouse magazine interview with Rubin "Hurricane" Carter, Carter explains how he was railroaded as a result of judicial and political treachery. "Hurricane" Carter's case is now slated for appeal in federal court, for which massive support is needed to ensure justice.

## PART 5

Q: Is it true that of 400 potential jurors, only eight were Black? And that the only selected juror who was Black — a West Indian — was the only one dismissed?

CARTER: Yes, that's right. Ain't that something? You know, those are astronomical odds — that out of fourteen people on the jury the only Black man would be taken off!

Q: With the recantations of the prosecution's key witnesses, Bello and Bradley, and all the other facts that have come to light about the suppression of evidence by the police — for instance, discrepancies concerning the time the police turned in the bullet they claimed to have found in your car — and with so much more new evidence crying for a new trial, why do you think Judge Larner turned down your appeal?

CARTER: Well, of course, Judge Larner turned down the appeal because he secured the conviction — and Larner wasn't even a judge before he tried my case.

## FIRST CASE

Q: You mean that was his first case as a judge?

CARTER: That was his first and he wasn't even from the same county I was. You see, in 1966 I was the number-one middleweight contender and an international figure, and everybody in Passaic County — well, everybody in New Jersey — knew that this was a frame-up. None of the judges in Passaic County would touch this case because they knew it was a farce.

But they still had to try me, so the governor of New Jersey at that time, Hughes, appointed Larner, at that time a lawyer from Essex County, on September 21, 1966, to go into Passaic County and try my case as his first criminal trial. Now Hughes did this for

RUBIN "Hurricane" CARTER is still trying to get justice from America's courts. He has been imprisoned since 1966 for two murders he can prove he did not commit.



various reasons, but specially because he knew that Raymond Brown was my attorney. Well, Brown was the best criminal lawyer in the state and a Black man. And Larner and Ray Brown were bitter enemies — they had been in cases together before.

So they sent Larner in there to hold Brown down and get me convicted. Larner acted like a prosecutor from the bench, and the moment he got me convicted they shipped him back to Essex County. They put him into civil law because he didn't have enough criminal trial experience.

## NO EXPERIENCE

Q: You mean they let him try your case, then they said he didn't have enough experience and sent him back to civil court?

CARTER: Yes, civil court in another county. So therein lie our political implications: Hughes, who was governor of the state of New Jersey at the time and who is now the chief justice of the state Supreme Court. We also have Brendan Byrne, who is the governor of New Jersey right now; he was in cahoots with Larner at that time.

When these two criminals testified for the state in 1966, they had nine or ten armed robberies throughout New Jersey to answer for. Well, Brendan Byrne, who was then the Essex County prosecutor, went around to all the judges in his county and had them quash all those indictments because they testified against me. So there you see the political ramifications.

Q: Larner was from the same county as Byrne?

CARTER: Yes. So when you ask why did Larner deny that appeal, well, he's the guardian of that conviction. He said right from the start of the hearing, "Why should the state be deprived of this conviction?" Those were his exact words — not why two human beings should be deprived of their lives because of vicious and prefabricated lies.

Because I will not say that I'm guilty, or act like I'm guilty, I am a threat to the administration, to the politicians. You know, there are brutal people in control of these prisons. There is no accountability all the way up the ladder. We are just left here with these people, and they are vicious. There have been several instances in the last four or five months of people being brutalized to death here in Trenton State Prison. This is the place where they kill you, and that's why they moved me here after the Rahway rebellion. I have as many problems with the inmates as I do with the guards and the administration. I'm like a man sitting on a high fence at noon. This place is very dangerous for me from both sides of the fence. If for a moment either the administration or the inmates here felt as though Rubin Carter was weakening in his fight to any degree, they would pounce on me and wipe me out. It's very dangerous for me here.

I'm blind in one eye because of lack of proper medical attention in this Trenton State Prison, and I know that if I get sick in here I'm going to die. I know that because it's what the administration wants. They showed me that very clearly when they blinded me in my eye.

Q: What did happen to your eye?

CARTER: I don't know. When I came into this jail, I had perfect vision — no problem ever with my eyes even when I was a prize-fighter going through all that rugged stuff. I never had problems with my eyes. But then I came to this jail, and when I was here about three weeks I had an examination — at that time they gave every person an examination; now they don't give you anything — and the man who gave me the examination said I had a detached retina and that if he didn't reattach it, I would slowly lose my sight in my right eye.

TO BE CONTINUED

## Pro Football War

CONTINUED FROM PREVIOUS PAGE

staffed almost entirely with rookies off the sandlots and assorted scabs. The other major league, then called the American Association, was similarly decimated by a mass exodus of its top players to the new Players' League. In its first year of operation the new league drew more fans than both of the old leagues combined, and yet went bankrupt and had to fold up shop.

The reasons why this happened shed a good deal of light on the limitations of workers' control in any one industry and the obstacles any players' association would face in taking control of its sport today.

The fact is that, even in 1890, other capitalists, including those who owned the banks and newspapers, did not much like the idea of workers deserting a business and setting up their own. So the Players' League found it nearly impossible to raise money. It could not get bank loans. More often than not, its games received no press coverage. What news there was of the new league amounted to a new scandal "uncovered" every week.

(In his book *Baseball: The Early Years*, Harold Seymour quotes a newspaper account of a players' union meeting. The player reps are reported as dressed in fur-lined overcoats — this is in the middle of summer — with patent leather shoes, silk hats, with \$5,000 diamond stickpins, gaudy rings, gold-headed canes, and smoking expensive Havana cigars.)

## PRESS COVERAGE

Indeed the press coverage of the recent NFL strike was not very different. Newspapers like the *New York Daily News*, day after day, in banner headlines, lauded veteran scabs as returning heroes and announced daily (in very hopeful terms) that the strike was "on the skids."

In other words, with capitalists in control of the mass media, it is far from obvious that a new players'-controlled league would be able to get decent press coverage, no less negotiate the sort of multi-million dollar TV contract upon which (in the absence of substantial bank loans) the survival of the new league might well depend. This situation could only change decisively if workers in the media, the banks, and industry generally began to take control over their industries too.

TO BE CONTINUED



## "...And Bid Him Sing"

### Exciting New Novel Examines Lives Of Black Americans In Egypt

CONTINUED FROM CENTERFOLD

his unwashed body. It was painful only to himself.

He guessed it was around one o'clock, from the cooking smells and the increasing clamor coming from the corridor. He'd missed another morning of classes at Al Azhar. But that didn't matter too much. He'd shown up at the beginning of the week, made his excuses for missing the day before and had performed with enthusiasm, if little accuracy. He knew his instructor, being more Egyptian than teacher, would be more impressed with the enthusiasm than annoyed with the inaccuracies, and thus forgive the absences. He had long since given up studying his Arabic.

His few, dust-laden books stood in a row on a small table in front of the window. The table and a rickety straight-back chair pushed under it were the only other pieces of furniture in the room. The large wooden bed took up most of the space. It sat hard against two walls. An aisle about a foot and half wide separated it from the third. The remaining space was a square formed by the footboard of the bed, the table under the window, the partition between the toilet-shower and the room, and the door opposite the window that opened onto the corridor. This square measured about three yards on each side.

EMPTY

It was this tiny, clustered room, empty of human activity, that he dreaded opening his eyes to. Karima's clothes were there, of course; all bunched together on several hangers suspended from a single large nail in the wall over the bed. The brightly colored, wide skirts of cheap cotton and their stiff muslin underskirts—her favorite attire—stood out arrogantly from the wall. His two suits and extra trousers hung in the folding canvas traveling bag he'd brought with him. This was suspended, full length, from another nail in the wall over the end of the aisle beside the bed. The room had no closet.

Being alone frightened him, although he was never really alone in this room. There were always others close by, overflowing into and moving through the corridor of the teeming floor. It was one of the main reasons he'd taken the room. When he'd first seen it he knew he'd never really be alone here. In the beginning he'd kept his door open most of the time, like everyone else on the floor; for the little additional breeze this provided and for the

welcome an open door suggested. But it had not worked out.

Everybody on the floor—in fact, in the entire building—knew he was from America, but that he vehemently, angrily, denied that he was an American. They also knew that he was a Moslem, or claimed to be, and that he went every Friday to noonday prayers at the local mosque. They had heard that he was a student at Al Azhar, but nobody was quite sure why. But this was the first time they'd ever heard of an American willing to undergo the legendary rigors of religious training there. And he was a Black American, that curious thing most had come to know about almost exclusively through the antics and achievements of Mohammed Ali Clay, as they insisted on calling him.

Suliman's open door had invited answers to their many questions. So he soon found himself and his room the center of attraction for the building. He'd tried at first to welcome all the curious. He'd answered all their questions as best he could with his limited Arabic, and had provided them all with tea when it was available. He offered to share his lunch, supper or breakfast, depending on the hour of the visits, and quickly learned that the first refusals were usually meant to test the sincerity of the offer.

More and more came, all wide-eyed with wonder, refusing to believe that an American was living among them and had actually married a third-rate



DAVID G. Du BOIS, greeting Mrs. ARMELIA NEWTON, mother of Huey P. Newton, at his recent Book Party.

cabaret dancer of mixed Egyptian and Sudanese origin, who everybody said was a whore. Despite everything they expected to see an American like the ones they'd seen in the movies, read about in their papers or heard about on their radios; like the occasional tourist they saw gawking through their neighborhood.

The reasons for the disappointment he saw in their eyes and manner escaped Suliman. But he saw it and was deeply hurt. Most of all he was hurt by their insistence on addressing him with the formal and respectful *El Ustaz* (The Professor) or *Ya Sidi* (Your Honor), and their refusal to call him "brother." When he spoke of them as Africans he was made painfully aware that the

idea that they were Africans had apparently never occurred to most of them; that they only thought of themselves as Egyptians.

His annoyance would rapidly turn into anger, so that often what had begun as leisurely, polite conversation ended with him fighting to control an outburst which he could not have pulled off in his limited Arabic anyway. What inevitably came out would be a few choice streetcorner epithets that none of his listeners understood. But their delicately tuned social senses got the message that the interview was over.

One by one they would offer their excuses and reluctantly drift away, only momentarily persuaded to linger by his urgent pleas to have another glass of tea. He'd observed this ritual among Egyptians whenever they parted, whatever the circumstances, and knew that by so doing he repaired some of the damage done by his outburst.

In time he'd decided to keep his door closed. It had worked, of course. A closed door on his corridor meant either that the occupants of the room were out or were engaged in some very intimate activity. But the door that was consistently kept shut when the occupants were in was an affront of the worst kind to everyone on the corridor; an unfriendly, antisocial act. From him, however, it was at first begrudgingly tolerated and then forgiven because he was, after all, a foreigner, and everyone knew that foreigners lacked the most elemental social graces. A few said to themselves: "No brother of mine would act like that."

TO BE CONTINUED

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The Black Scholar

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## Trade Union Action

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 18

articulated by African workers are precisely those which over the years SACTU has been putting forward to the very same employers. Although SACTU has been severely hit by repression and its formal activities suppressed by the Vorster regime, its aims and objectives are precisely mirrored in the action now being taken by Black workers.

White industrialists in South Africa are undoubtedly concerned by these events and by the prospect of African workers withdrawing their labor altogether. Such a sanction had already been put into operation by Malawi. Since April, 1974, when the Malawi government ordered a halt to the recruitment there of labor for South Africa's mines, it is estimated that 1,700 Malawian miners have been leaving South Africa every week. Lesotho has also indicated its capacity to exert similar pressure upon the White economy.

Shortages of labor have over the past year developed in the gold mines in particular: by the end of 1974 they were operating with only 78 per cent of their usual labor requirements, and the total underground force had dropped from 322,000 in 1973 to around 274,000.

There should be no doubt that White South African industrialists should interpret these developments as a warning of intensified industrial action to come.

**TO BE CONTINUED**

## Free Attica Brothers

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 9

Vincent E. Doyle, an attorney for Jomo, told the *Guardian* that a policy decision was apparently made at the highest levels to indict only inmates. Doyle vowed, "If we have to go back to court, we are going to go all the way up the ladder to find out who made the decision to indict only inmates."

As we go to press, THE BLACK PANTHER has learned that a special grand jury in the state of New York, investigating crimes by law enforcement officers in Attica in 1971, has handed out its first indictments against a guard. The identity of the officer who has been indicted could not be released until the person has been apprehended. In comparison, 62 inmates have been indicted by a grand jury and charged with over 1,400 crimes. □

## Letters to the Editor

### CONCERNED ABOUT GETTING NOVELS PUBLISHED

Dear Brothers and Sisters,

It's Brothers and Sisters because what I'm about concerns Blacks and all non-White people.

My problem is getting my novels, short stories and books published. Money I don't have and since it is thus, I appeal to you. In doing so, I do in hope that my work to my people and society is your concern. "AM I MY BROTHERS'S KEEPER?"

I'm aware of my brothers' and sisters' struggle in trying to maintain financial support for the many beneficial programs you have - the people.

Would it help if you published my books or have them published for a percentage of the income of all books? If so, let me know as promptly as possible. If not, I hope to think of other ways to help in supporting the Party.

A Brother willing to help.

Carl L. Nelson  
St. Louis, Mo.

### PROTESTS FALSE ARREST

Editor:

Greetings, comrade brothers and sisters at your Oakland headquarters as well as all poor/oppressed and railroaded brothers and sisters.

First of all, I'd like to inform you all that I scoped what the "Party" was doing during my placement at a Washington State "Job Corps Center," next state to California, and my room partner rapped, rapped and rapped daily about Bro. Huey whom he stated he lived only blocks away from.

And he also had some of the Party's literature and though I'm from Miami, Florida — which is so unorganized — from that particular day on I've wanted to join the Party as well as organize in Miami, which I shall as soon as I jump out this year. I plead with you all to "cooperate" and "lead me on" by any means necessary organizing. There are not many whom one writes concerning forming their very neighborly "chapter." (Sorry this message is so long.)

Also I must inform you all that I'm innocent and can prove it if only I had a defense lawyer or "publicity" or some strong organization such as the Party. You see, I was busted two weeks after the crime. I cooperated nonviolently. I was falsely and mistakenly identified and the accused made several accusations at the line-up. I paid a lawyer who didn't defend me. I was told by the state that if I passed a polygraph test, I'd walk. Before that, I was going to be released on my own recognizance. So the oppressor made an excuse that she didn't think the polygraph expert asked me the right questions. All the brothers and sisters thought I'd be freed, and weren't there to testify. Also, there were no fingerprints, no gun, money, etc., ever found. It's been a living nightmare these past five years, but my oppressors must pay.

Right now I'm willing to lay my life on the line for Huey. To this one brother, the struggle is the only meaning in life to me. I'm more than capable of organizing brothers and coming to Oakland and unite. I'll never forget this miscarriage of justice; but as Brother Huey's philosophy states you can't manipulate the mind.

Yours convincingly,  
Comrade Robert Bell, Jr.  
P.O. Box 677  
Bushnell, Fla. 33513

### SEEKS JUSTICE FOLLOWING KNIFE ATTACK

Dear Editor:

Not long ago I received stab wounds at the Cleveland County facility which is a subsidiary of the Department of Corrections here in North Carolina. My attacker has since then been paroled. I might add that no one was prosecuted in a court of law for this incident. I find this utterly disgusting. The facts that surround the immediate situation include a loss of one rib from my body and consequently major operations performed in the department's medical ward. This incident is a matter of grave negligence on the part of my keepers. I have tried to seek redress in the courts of North Carolina in the form of civil actions. Needless to say, I have a limited awareness or knowledge in the field of law, and this had been to the advantage of my keepers. I am sure that I have been abused Constitutionally and worst physically.

I would like this letter printed as an awareness to other prisoners and society alike, to the fact that human life is cheap within the prison colonies. I was at the threshold of death as a result of being attacked, and the attitude of my fellow human beings (inmates, guards and officials) was one of indifference. I could deal with the indifference of the mostly programmed inmate population, but I find it hard to accept this attitude from my keepers in total disregard of my Constitutional rights and other legalities. I have been brought back from the clutches of death and now realize the reality of what being incarcerated means from my keeper's view. Absolutely nothing!

I do plan to pursue this incident judicially but I need help, help in gathering evidence from some concerned agency as a direct result of investigation of my situation. Any concern in this area will be highly appreciated.

Thanking you in advance,  
James L. Harris  
P.O. Box 217  
Yanceyville, N.C. 27379

## Afro-American History

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 11

convention will feature popular Black speakers including: Atlanta's mayor, Maynard Jackson; Constance Baker Motley, United States District Court judge; Julian Bond, member of the Georgia State Senate; and Dr. Edgar Allen Toppin, ASALH president.

Workshop areas include: Is the Black Church Preserving Its History?; Pioneers and Rioters; The Crisis of the Black Scholar; Blacks in Agriculture; How to Write Black History; Black Business; Black Protest in Georgia; and The Political Economy of a Black Inequality. □

## "Double Chains"

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 8

these prisons. We cannot be indifferent about the prison system.

Remember, some 95 per cent of the people who are in these prisons will eventually be released, will eventually be returned to the society and will have to make an attempt to become part of it.

If we must have prisons, at least we can have humane prisons, with the specific intention not of maintaining the prisons forever but of eventually abolishing them.

My suggestion is that each and every human being who is not in prison do everything that can possibly be done to change the inhuman conditions under which most of our sisters and brothers have to live; become active in the overall world struggle; develop a consciousness that will not allow you to be indifferent to the suffering and misery of others no matter what the system has accused them of doing.

In short, take the initiative.  
Make the revolution! □

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